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MEMOIRS

OF

ELIZABETH STUART,

QUEEN OF BOHEMIA,

DAUGHTER OF KING JAMES THE FIRST.

INCLUDING

SKETCHES

OF THE

STATE OF SOCIETY IN HOLLAND AND GERMANY,

IN THE 17TH CENTURY.

36495

BY MISS BENGER,

AUTHOR OF MEMOIRS OF ANNE BOLEYN, MEMOIRS OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS, &c. &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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FREDERIC had completed his twenty-third year when he ascended the throne of Bohemia, an event which, whether succeeded by prosperous or adverse circumstances, was decidedly to change the colour of his future existence. He had hitherto allowed himself to consider the German Princes as his cordial friends; but he was undeceived, when the Elector of Saxony not only withheld the congratulations generally offered on his elevation, but when he learnt that his ambassador was gravely admonished

by an anonymous paper, " *to fear God,* " *and honour the Emperor.*"

Like Maximilian of Bavaria, John George of Saxony was, in reality, not slow to turn to his own advantage the imprudence of Frederic, whose exaltation would have alarmed his jealousy, had he not discerned the consequences likely to follow from his rashness. In the meanwhile, Frederic repaired to Amberg to meet the Princes of the Union, who, severally and collectively, pledged themselves not only to support him in the approaching contest, but to protect from invasion his hereditary dominions. Confiding in these assurances, which, according to all rational calculation, were prompted not merely by sympathy, but the sense of mutual interest, Frederic hastened back to Prague, which Elizabeth appears not to have enjoyed during his absence. With the exception of her chaplain, Dr. Chapman, her English ladies, Amelia Solms, Count Louis Palatine, and two or three Englishmen of distinction, she discovered in her

magnificent palace no society congenial to her taste. The Bohemian nobles, with the exception of some few illustrious patriots, were totally unlike all to whom she had hitherto been accustomed; and, from her total ignorance of their native language, she was unable to hold with the people that familiar intercourse, which alone was wanting to render her as popular in Prague as she had been at Heidelberg. It is worthy of remark, that the shows and pageants which, in France, England, and Germany, were always introduced during public festivals, formed no part of the pomp exhibited in honour of the coronation, a circumstance that shows to what degree Bohemia was insulated from other countries of Europe. No allegorical subtilties were here embodied to perplex the learned or divert the vulgar. No puerile conflicts between knights and giants, ladies and angels, saints and muses, the cardinal virtues and the intellectual faculties. There was in the character of this people a mixture of sim-

plicity and enthusiasm, an Oriental propensity to extravagance and passion, that, perhaps, unfitted them for relishing any novel amusements. Like their forefathers, they delighted in the alternation of robust exercises with voluptuous ease, in the boisterous dance, which renewed the vivid impressions of war, or the long-protracted banquet, in which they surrendered themselves without reserve to convivial indulgence. Music and dancing were popular amusements; and they possessed in their national tongue a powerful stimulus to sympathy, of which their more civilized German neighbours were destitute. The citizens were characterised by hospitality; the women of the lower order were gentle and affectionate, and of their simplicity a touching instance soon fell under the queen's notice. Shortly after her arrival in Prague, the wives of certain burghers repaired by agreement to the palace, to present to her on Saint Isabella's *

* This saint had also been a queen, whom the church canonized.

day (being her own name-day), an humble testimonial of their duty and affection, which, for the honour of good housewifery, consisted of choice cakes, comfits, and substantial loaves of bread. These, crammed into sacks like measures of meal, were carried after them to the presence-chamber. The queen received the women with her wonted affability, and commanded her chamberlain to return her thanks, which she was unable to express in their mother tongue. The nobleman obeyed, not without laughing at the oddity of the present; the gentlemen in waiting betrayed similar symptoms of risibility. An English page, snatching up one of the loaves, twisted the bread into fantastic shapes, which he put into his hat like a garland. His example was followed by others; and the poor Bohemians, perceiving they were objects of derision, retired abashed, firmly resolved to repair the trespass by a second gift, less unworthy of a queen's acceptance, which was no other than a superb cradle of ebony, inlaid

with gold and precious stones, and a set of swaddling-clothes, of Cambray manufacture.

Elizabeth could not but be touched with these artless demonstrations of loyalty, from which she was disposed to draw only smiling presages; and, to crown her happiness, on the 18th of December, Elizabeth gave birth to a son, the first prince who, for more than a century, had been born in Prague. On this occasion, persons of every rank were admitted within the ancient walls of the Strahoff, to behold the royal infant. Matrons and soldiers, priests and maidens, were alike garrulous in prophesying his future glory. Even Frederic himself, whether impressed with some presage of his greatness, or willing to illustrate to the nation the honours of his house, bestowed on him the name of Rupert, the wise and fortunate elector who, on the deposition of Winceslaus, had ascended the imperial throne. This designation was injudicious. To increase his popularity with the

Bohemians, the king should rather have chosen for his child the popular name of Premislaus. The birth of a son was, however, regarded as a favourable auspice, and increased the glory of the new sovereign. Magnificent donations were offered by the nobles; and the succession of the crown having been already secured to Henry Frederic, the States pledged themselves to create Rupert, Great Duke of Lithuania,* the Palatinate being probably allotted to Charles Louis, the second son of Frederic and Elizabeth; nor is it improbable that an advantageous alliance was already projected for the Princess Elizabeth — so vain are the calculations of politicians, and the fancies of princes!

* That Frederic attached some importance to this concession, is evident by the manner in which he desires Elizabeth to send the bond to Amberg. (See Bromley's Royal Letters.) From the same document it appears that this favour had not been quite gratuitous, since he mentions at the same time a certain acknowledgment given for the money which he had advanced to the States.

The new year having opened thus auspiciously to Frederic, was celebrated at his court with suitable festivities; but vain was the attempt to introduce either French or English pastimes among the Bohemians, whose nobles were either eminent for convivial pomp or ascetic severity. Letters and the arts were little regarded; the artists and poets, and sculptors of former times were remembered only in their works; nor had the long residence of Tycho Brahe* in this country created an interest in science. From this observation, however, must be excepted, Count Andreas Schlick and Baron Rupa, and two or three distinguished individuals, whose minds had been expanded by their commerce with more polished countries. The education of the junior nobility was ill calculated to render them respected;

* The astronomical apparatus of Tycho Brahe is said to have been left in the palace of *Prague*. This philosopher had emigrated from Denmark to Bohemia, where he died, at the commencement of the seventeenth century.

till the age of fourteen they were trained at home, under a domestic tutor whose business it was rather to furnish occupation for idleness, than to inspire the love of study, or to excite in them an emulation for improvement. At fourteen they were transferred for two years to the University, and from thence to the court or camp as taste or convenience dictated.* In riper years, many of them consumed their days in hunting and drinking, and dissipated a princely fortune in pomp and prodigality which obtained the praise of munificence: in general, they were rash spendthrifts in youth, and capricious tyrants in their age; fickle lovers, untender husbands, and des-

* The education of the young German nobles was very different. They were sent to the universities; and it was not uncommon to see a young martial noble invested with the title and dignity of chief or superior of the college, the duties of the office being performed by his vicar. In this manner, Christopher d'Hona found one of his brothers, at the age of 17, presiding at Altorf, then the most illustrious university in Germany, belonging to the imperial town of Norimberg.

potic fathers; there were, however, honourable exceptions in the venerable Michaelovitz, and the patriotic Count Thurm, the brave Bernard his son, and the accomplished Andreas Schlick, equally elegant in his mind and manners. The female nobility were less cultivated, though more susceptible of civilization than the other sex; and many of the Catholic and Lutheran matrons consumed their days in preparing for a gorgeous display of dress at festivals, in presiding over their numerous domestics and dependants, in finery untasteful as gorgeous, or glittering in the dance amidst ungraceful rivals. In the humbler walks of female life, were exemplified many of those sterling virtues which exalt the human character; chaste, temperate, and devout, these humble unpretending women defied reproach, but wanted intelligence and delicacy to inspire respect. Among the Hussites, the sex adopted a plainness of dress and carriage that obscured their native charms. In no class of society had woman assumed

her proper station, or even that limited influence conceded to her in other countries; yet was it notorious that a female scholar of rare endowments had lately flourished in Bohemia, whose merit was still commemorated by men of learning with enthusiastic admiration. Born in England, of respectable though not affluent parents, Elizabeth Weston had been transported in early childhood to Prague, where her family long resided in indigent obscurity; her native talents attracted the notice of a benevolent scholar, who disdained not to become the fosterer of a female pupil; under his superintendance she acquired correctness and purity in her metrical compositions, and wrote a series of Latin poems * which drew the praise of learned men, and finally secured to her royal patronage. United to a man of congenial pursuits, she enjoyed more happiness than is often al-

* Some of this lady's Latin poems have a place in the British Museum.

lotted to women of genius; and finally, after a life spent in honourable tranquillity, she quitted the world with the tribute of respect from her contemporaries, and the promise, however fallacious, of immortal fame. Elizabeth Weston lived not to welcome the arrival of her royal countrywoman at Prague, nor was any pen equal to hers employed in the poems produced on that occasion; neither, although Frederic and Elizabeth were notoriously lovers and patrons of literature, did any Bohemian appear of sufficient merit to attract their notice. But, whatever might be its disadvantages in literature or science, Prague was full of life and variety; nor could its court be stigmatized with dulness; the military men, who formed its best, almost its only society, held an intercourse with foreign States that supplied inexhaustible topics for conversation. Count Thurm and Ernest Mansfeld corresponded with Venice and the Porte, exclusive of Bethlem Gabor, who had lately been acknow-

ledged by Sultan Osman the legitimate sovereign of Hungary, and was actually in expectation of being crowned at Presburg. Little as a Palatine Prince, who traced his descent from Charlemagne, could relish the intractable spirit of a military adventurer, such as Bethlem Gabor, Frederic found it prudent to accept his overtures with cordiality, and, from similar motives of policy, admitted to his royal household twelve unsophisticated Bohemians, who had never before approached a court, and understood only their mother-tongue. The appearance of these original personages, transformed from soldiers to courtly satellites, was amusing to the English attendants.* The first day that these brave men entered on the duties of their office, one of them spilled on the Queen's robe, the wine she was about to raise to her lips. Another, who held in his hand a sugar basin, was so amazed by the sudden movement of the Queen's monkey,

* Kevenhuller.

that he let the basin fall with all its contents on the floor; a third, even more awkward than his companions, dropt the dishes from the tray on which they were placed; and, without missing them, presented the Queen with an empty plate. *

The blunders of these new gentlemen of the chamber produced only harmless pleasantry; but from the blunders of the zealous but misguided Scultetus resulted serious evils, such as Frederic had long cause to regret.† In conformity with the principles proclaimed in his manifestoes, the monarch had hitherto allowed unlimited toleration to religious opinion, nor were the Catholics less favoured than the Protestants; and even some of the friars confessed that they could not have wished for a milder government, or more gracious sovereign. To inspire in his subjects equal liberality of sentiment, Frederic, and even Scultetus, sanctioned the alternation of Lutheran and Calvinistic

* Mémoires de l'Electrice Palatine.

† Schmidt.

preaching in the Protestant churches, not excepting even the Cathedral of Prague: but, unfortunately for this auspicious concord, the ancient altars still existed, and the images with which they were embellished awakened in Lutherans and Calvinists far different emotions; whilst by the former they were hallowed with unfeigned devotion, in the latter they excited only reprobation and contempt. To inveigh against idols and idol-worship gave free scope to the eloquence of Scultetus, and no sooner was his sovereign crowned, than he yielded to the temptation of preaching on this favourite theme of declamation, insisting that all who adhered to the Christian faith were under a sacred obligation to purge the churches from Pagan idolatry. Inflamed by his discourses, a party of Calvinists, countenanced by three or four men of rank, among whom, if Kevenhuller may be credited, were Baron Rupa and the venerable Michaelovitz, on St. Thomas's day made an irruption into the chan-

cel of the Great Church, tore down the crucifix, which, during several centuries, had been the object of universal veneration, and for its exquisite workmanship might have been spared from destruction; then they proceeded to attack various pictures and sculptures, almost equally sacred; above all others, the Madonnas were insulted and abused; nor did Scultetus hesitate to apostrophize one of those beautiful statues in the spirit of Knox, exclaiming, "Help thy-"self if thou canst, thou poor silly thing, "help thyself."* Many other depredations were committed, and, finally, the high altar displaced; the shrine of our Lady was also banished. The precious crucifix, presented by the Emperor Rodolph, was taken down, and the holy reliques were ignominiously trampled under foot. At first this sacrilegious violence was exclusively attributed to Scultetus; but when, on Christmas day, Frederic publicly communicated after the manner of the

* Kevenhuller.

Reformed Church*, the Lutherans became seriously alarmed, protesting that the King meant to force on them the catechism of Heidelberg; nor was the zeal of his chaplain yet appeased. The bridge of Prague has already been mentioned as the boast of the capital; but that which formed its chief ornament was the great crucifix †, which du-

* "The King and his companions sat on benches at "a long table, covered with a linen cloth."—*Kevenhuller.*

† "A massy crucifix had been erected on the bridge "of Prague, which had stood there for many hundred "years before; neither affronted by the Lutherans, "nor defaced by the Jews, though more averse from "images than all people else: Scultetus takes offence "at the sight thereof, as if the brazen serpent were "set up and worshipped; persuades the King to "cause it presently to be demolished, or else he never "would be reckoned for an Hezekiah; in which he "found conformity to his humour also, and thereby "did as much offend all sober Lutherans (who retain "images in their churches, and other places), as he "had done the Romish clergy by his former follies. "This gave some new increase to those former jealous-"ies which had been given them by that Prince."—(*Baxter's Life and Letters.* See *Nichol's Arminianism and Calvinism.*)

ring many centuries had kept its station, undisturbed by the Taborites, or Hussites, whose national pride was interested in its protection. To attack an object of popular veneration so deeply rooted, seemed little short of madness; nor did even Scultetus venture openly to commit that outrage, which he had vowed to accomplish, in opposition to the warning voice of Count Thurm, who perfectly understood the peculiarities of the Bohemian character. Resolved, nevertheless, on the destruction of the detested crucifix, he collected a few zealots, who at midnight stole to the bridge, and having on some pretext sent away the sentinels, contrived in their absence to remove the object of their abhorrence; the morning light revealed the sacrilege, and witnessed the dismay and indignation of the inhabitants, who deplored as a national calamity the removal of their ancient protector. The men raved—the women wept—it was murmured that the tutelary genius of Bohemia had vanished with the image which

their fathers adored; and whilst some remarked that Ferdinand had never offered such violence as Frederic had perpetrated, others recalled with bitterness the cruelties which had been authorized by the Synod of Dort, the persecution of the Arminians, and the sacrifice of Barnevelt.

Even Elizabeth herself, who, guided by native good sense, or the counsels of Count Thurm, had hitherto so conducted herself as to escape reproach, — even Elizabeth was implicated in the odium which this transaction excited. It was recollected that she had avoided passing this bridge, on the specious pretext of modesty, men and women being accustomed to bathe openly in the river Moldau. Under the delusion of prejudice, the real motive of her aversion was now traced to the dishonoured crucifix, and she was stigmatised as an infidel, a pretender, a profane mocker.* In the meanwhile, the Calvinists triumphed;

* Kevenhuller, vol. ix. See also the Eigentliche Relacion, in Tracts of German History, 1620.

and Scultetus would probably have persisted in his career of abolition, but for an invitation to accompany Frederic into Silesia and Moravia, from whence deputies had long since arrived at Prague, to tender from their respective States that homage which it was deemed prudent to confirm, by exacting anew the oaths of fealty and allegiance. There was probably no passage in the life of Scultetus that afforded him gratification equal to that which he enjoyed during this royal progress. Born in Silesia, which he had quitted in early youth, with no resource but in his native and acquired talents, it was not without conscious pride and exultation, that he revisited the place of his nativity with a young aspiring monarch, whose confidence he had long possessed, and of whose counsels he was notoriously the principal director. Nor had he reason to complain of his reception in either of the provinces which Frederic visited, and which were too remote from Prague to sympathize in the resentment that the spolia-

tion of the altars had excited, even had the Lutheran interest prevailed. In general, however, the Calvinistic sect predominated in the towns through which they passed; in the country, a few barons had given the same bias to their vassals, who, in the spirit of a Highland community, embraced the faith as readily as they adhered to the banner of their hereditary lord. Simple and hardy in their habits, they had a martial aspect, and in their manners affected independence. Whatever town Frederic approached, he was greeted by the citizens, who bore arms, and walked or rode before him without the least semblance of courtly servility. In whatever place he tarried, there appears to have been a Jesuit's church converted to an evangelical sanctuary, in which Scultetus preached on the blessings of brotherly love, and, in the language of contemporary chronicles, the music of angels, derived from Catholic predecessors, floated on the air, whilst the congregation responded in psalms or hymns, adapted to their simpler

worship. At Breslau, the capital of Silesia, the king was greeted by a fanatic, who made singular pretensions to the gift of prophecy; this was the famous Christopher Kotter,* who, in the year 1619, had commenced a series of visions, of which Frederic formed the principal subject; and so flattering were those dreams, and with such confidence did Kotter insure their truth, that he scrupled not to reveal to Frederic his future elevation to the imperial throne. Scultetus eagerly imbibed all that Kotter communicated; and even Frederic, though far less disposed to enthusiasm, listened with complacency, if not with confidence, to those delusions of a romantic mind. During this month's tour, the king saw only smiling faces, and listened but to professions of fidelity and attachment; and so completely were his apprehensions lulled into security, that he decided

* Kotter was not the only seer who promised fair to Frederic; a young woman, named Christina, was equally favourable. But the spirit of prophecy was equally prevalent in England during the civil wars.

on sending for his horses and dogs from Heidelberg *; that he might enjoy, with his Bohemian subjects, the pastime to which not only himself but Elizabeth was fondly addicted. It was, however, some drawback on his satisfaction, to learn that Bethlem Gabor, his best ally, of whose coronation at Presburg intelligence had been hourly expected, was not even proclaimed king; and, in returning to the capital, he had the mortification to hear of many adverse circumstances, which had occurred during his absence, more especially of the tragical catastrophe of Slabata's lawsuit, an account of which, as it illustrates the state of society in Bohemia, and had some influence on Frederic's fortunes, shall be offered to the reader.

Previous to the king's election a litigation had commenced between two noblemen, who had married two sisters, the daughters of a wealthy baron deceased, each of whom

* Bromley's Royal Letters.

claimed, in right of his wife, her splendid inheritance. The origin of this feud was of a romantic cast.* Twelve years before, the baron, a man of irascible vindictive passions, suspecting that his eldest daughter had formed an unsuitable connexion, confined her in a solitary tower on the summit of a cliff, to which the only access was by a perpendicular ascent, sufficiently difficult to impede the most enterprising adventurer. In this gloomy turret, the unhappy girl was condemned to waste her blooming youth, with no other companion than the gaolers appointed by her inhuman parent. At length the baron died, without pardoning or even seeing his ill-fated child; but not before he had given in marriage his second daughter to a nobleman of Calvinistic principles, who, on his demise, took possession of the whole property, as his wife's patrimony; and, effectually to bar all inimical pretensions, without scruple determined

* Kevenhuller.

that the captivity of his sister-in-law should terminate but with her existence. For some time, Baron Slabata enjoyed, unmolested, the magnificent castle of his wife's ancestors; and, such is the moral degradation attendant on feudal ignorance, his iniquitous actions were chartered with impunity. In the meanwhile, it was notorious that the baron had left two daughters, one of whom, the eldest, and consequently the heiress, though immured, was supposed to be still in existence. Otto of Wartenberg, a spirited nobleman, with more courage than wealth, having lately buried his wife, recalled the image of the captive in her happier days, and resolved to attempt her deliverance. For this purpose he repaired, with a chosen band of brave men, to the foot of the declivity on which her tower stood. With infinite difficulty Otto ascended by a ladder of ropes to the summit, and employed the same means to assist his companions. Having so far succeeded, they stormed the fortress, killed the guards,

and, in the tone of chivalrous romance, released the lady. In what manner the victim of paternal cruelty, and fraternal avarice, had endured her tedious imprisonment, is not detailed; but, however it might have impaired her beauty, it had not deprived her of attractions in the eyes of Otto, who believed that, in making her his wife he should, by the laws of Bohemia, acquire an exclusive right to her father's possessions. Readily did the outcast lady accept his hand, and gladly did she acquiesce in the bold step he proposed to reinstate her in the castle of her ancestors.

In this emergency, the regular course would have been to institute a legal process in the chancellor's court, and patiently to await his decision. But delays were as ill suited to the baron's necessities as the lady's impatience. The revolutionary movement in Bohemia seemed to have conferred personal privileges on individual men. Instead, therefore, of submitting his claims to a chancellor, who might be swayed by inte-

rest or prejudice, Otto, like a true knight, took his cause into his own hands; and, having collected a sufficient force of armed men, proceeded to the castle, compelled admission, and, *vi et armis*, dislodged its former occupants.

The discomfited Slabata lost no time in stating his grievance to the directors, who summoned Wartenberg to answer for the outrage. Instead of obeying the citation, that nobleman employed himself in arming his wife's vassals, who, either touched by her sufferings, or captivated with her husband's gallantry, promised to stand or fall by their new lord. Ill fitted to contend with his intrepid foe, the base Slabata had no resource but to re-state his case to the chancellor, and tamely to endure affronts, until the election of a new monarch should have re-established in Bohemia a more regular government. On the arrival of Frederic in Bohemia, even Otto of Wartenberg altered his deportment, acquiesced in legal process, and implored the royal pro-

tection. Unfortunately, Slabata, who was notoriously a Calvinist, had already secured the good will of the new government; and his forcible ejectment from the castle was declared to be a violation of the laws, for which offence Otto was amerced in a heavy fine, and imprisoned in the tower of Prague.

In the meanwhile the countess was allowed to remain unmolested in the castle of Gutschin, until the cause in the chancellor's court should be finally determined; when, on what colourable pretence appears not, the representative of the elder sister was non-suited, and Slabata, the unjust rapacious brother, confirmed in the inheritance. Not one moment was lost by the favoured litigant to enforce restitution; but, well knowing that the wife of Wurtemburg participated in her husband's courage, he urged the Rath to persuade her not to arm her vassals against the king's authority. The lady listened with calmness, and even promised to admit Slabata quietly, provided he came without soldiers, and

attended only by legal officers. For this the Rath pledged himself; and Slabata arrived, with only ten legal commissaries, to the gates of the castle. Mistrusting, however, the placability of his sister-in-law, he had taken the precaution to provide soldiers, who, entering by a postern gate, were admitted privately within the court of the castle.

In the meanwhile, her vassals, including the inhabitants of Gutschin, beginning, unmasked, to assemble before the gates of the castle, the Rath read to them aloud the royal commission, denouncing the penalties of imprisonment and confiscation on all who resisted the royal mandate. Upon hearing this preamble, the people dispersed, leaving the lady Wartenberg no alternative but submission or imprisonment. Her native pride and courage were still unsubdued; and, preferring even death with vengeance to beggary and disgrace, she commanded her soldiers to fall upon Slabata's party. The latter proving victorious, she withdrew with pre-

cipitation to an inner apartment, where she had hoarded a few barrels of powder; and here having plied the men with wine, she presented them with pipes for smoking, and encouraged them, by fair promises, to renew the attack, though, from an effort so desperate, she could expect only destruction. In the meanwhile, Slabata, exulting in success, was proudly conducting his retainers to the hall, too happy to be relieved from the presence of his injured kinswoman. But vain were his speculations! * According to Kevenhuller, a fatal spark, accidentally communicating from a torch to the small powder magazine which the lady had hoarded as her last resource, at once awarded justice to the rapacious Slabata and the vindictive wife of Otto. In a few moments was heard an explosion, beyond description terrible; the walls of the castle were lifted from their foundations; in a single instant

* This catastrophe, though ascribed by modern historians to premeditation, is by Kevenhuller, who should seem to be the best authority, attributed to accident.

one of its wings was levelled with the earth, and, with the exception of five or six favoured individuals, who almost miraculously escaped, nobles, peasants, vassals, children, horses, were involved in one fate, and, above all, the lady and the baron, who had been the primary cause of the catastrophe.

No sooner was the news received at Prague than the wretched Otto was released from the tower, apparently at liberty to take possession of the melancholy ruins; but, though audacious, he was not obdurate; and, so overwhelming were the impressions of horror and grief which this catastrophe produced on his frame, that he survived not many days his miserable consort. Such was the state of society in Bohemia, that this tremendous outrage was perpetrated in a castle but ten miles distant from the gates of Prague.

It was impossible but that Elizabeth should contemplate with horror this trait of Bohemian character; but she little suspected with what ingenious perverseness the spirit

of party could implicate her consort in the perpetration of a crime which belonged exclusively to a barbarous age. She knew not that the failure of Otto of Wartenberg to substantiate his claims was attributed to his Lutheranism, and that Slabata was believed to have obtained his verdict by the omnipotence of Calvinistic principles. The whisper of suspicion was sufficient to alarm the prejudices of an ignorant, credulous people. The fate of Wartenberg excited commiseration; the citizens murmured that he had been sacrificed to the partiality of the new sovereign and the malice of Scultetus. Nor was this unfavourable impression softened by certain requisitions for money, which it was deemed expedient to make on the citizens. Brave and warlike, they obeyed with alacrity the summons of the Rath, when, in the King's name, he called them to arms; and marching into the new town in the manner of older times, put the helmet on their heads, and the buckler on their breasts, and swore to defend the standard of their fathers.

Joyfully were the tents pitched in the beautiful avenues of the Etoile Park, and men of all ages seemed to contemplate with satisfaction the approaching conflict. Hitherto all smiled fair, but the next day a general meeting being held, composed of merchants, burghers, craftsmen, citizens, and scribes, when it was proposed to raise for the king's service the sum of 300,000 dollars to pay the soldiers, who might otherwise be disposed to mutiny, a murmur of disapprobation was reverberated through the assembly; the scribes declared they could not, the tradesmen protested they would not submit to the exaction; and there were even some bolder spirits who intimated, that, rather than yield, they would raise the standard of revolt — in their own words *, "bar out," and hazard the loss of whatever they possessed. From this trait of perverse folly, it is easy to discover how little of information or good sense was to be found in the public community of Prague.

* Kevenhüller.

The nobility still promised fair; and the Landtag being held, the States voted large subsidies, and imposed heavy taxes on the clergy and landholders; by which impartiality the citizens seemed conciliated. The splendid christening of the young prince, so lately born within the walls of Prague, completely captivated their mutable affections. Passionately addicted to shows and pomp, they welcomed every stranger who procured them a procession. Whatever great event occurred, was celebrated by a sermon and a feast, a discharge of artillery, and sometimes a ball. In this respect, it cannot be doubted that the tastes of Elizabeth and Frederic accorded with the propensities of their Bohemian subjects; but it is scarcely to be imagined that their inclinations concurred in the nomination of Bethlem Gabor, an upstart prince of yesterday, for the sponsor to their son Rupert; nor could it be otherwise than revolting to German pride and English decorum, that his semi-barbarous ambassadors should enact the principal part in that august

ceremony. This measure had, however, originated in the political calculations of Count Thurm, who, relying on the fortunes of Bethlem to acquire the crown of Hungary, doubted not his ability and good-will to secure to Frederic the unmolested possession of his kingdom.*

* Whatever censures were subsequently pronounced on this measure, at the moment it was recommended by the first politicians of the day; nor did the objection to Bethlem Gabor, as the secret ally, or tributary of the Porte, ever appear legitimate till Frederic was deposed. The spirit of the times may be inferred from the following passage, extracted from a pamphlet written by some Scottish or English emissary at Prague:—

"The King having invited Bethlem Gabor to be "sponsor to his son Rupert, so auspiciously born at "Prague on the 19th December, 1619, made a jour- "ney to Breslau, an important town in Silesia, not only "that he might conciliate the affections of the people, "but that he might also inspire respect for his autho- "rity; but scarcely had he arrived in this city, when "the news that the Transylvanians were approaching "Prague, hastened him back to that capital. Several "rumours of victory reached him, as if," adds the courtly intelligencer, "Philip of Macedon should "have subjugated Sparta at the moment when Olym- "pia bore him a lord, and his servants bore away the "prize in the games of Hercules.'"

The arrival of the Transylvanian ambassadors was distinguished by a pomp as flattering to the vanity of their prince as acceptable to the popular tastes of Prague. A procession of eighteen coaches and three hundred horsemen formed a brilliant spectacle. The martial uniform of the Hungarian cavaliers captivated the ladies, and the liberalities of Count Thurtzo, the most accomplished of Bethlem's ministers, and the only one of them possessing any talent for eloquence, atoned for the martial sternness of his deportment.

On the 31st of March the strangers went in state to the great church of Prague*, where a thanksgiving sermon, on the coalition between Hungary and Bohemia, was preached by Scultetus, recommending to all Christians charity and concord. During this interval the infant remained in the arms of the first peeress in the kingdom, called the ouer-burgravine, or arch-burgravine, who offi-

* Theatre of Europe. —— Le Mercure Francois, pour l'an 1620 et 1621.

ciated as his god-mother. At her right hand stood Prince Louis Palatine, on her left the Duke of Wirtemberg. The procession was regulated, according to the customs of Bohemia, without grace or gallantry, the officers going before, the ladies following in the rear. The entrance of each great personage was announced by a trumpet, and every new arrival heralded by kettle-drums and hautboys. Upon a marble table was placed an immense golden vase, filled with water. Towards the baptismal font, in martial attire, advanced Count Thurtzo, in the Hungarian costume, with a steel casque on his head, to whose arms the infant was consigned by the great burgravine (the Lady Birchin), and from whose lips he received the name of Rupert, which was repeated with loud and involuntary acclamations. No sooner was the ceremony ended, than the child, in like manner, was transferred to the arms of the deputies of Lusatia, Moravia, and Silesia, all in martial habiliments; from them he was passed to the female nobility; then to any casual specta-

tors who were near enough to receive him; finally, the babe was restored to the burgravine, who reconveyed him to the palace, where he was still more fondly welcomed by his too sanguine mother. In the meanwhile, the populace still lingered in the avenues of the church, eager to behold the beautiful Turkish horse, which was presented by the ambassador in the name of his sovereign. The beauty of the courser was unequalled, and his superb trappings are said to have baffled description. The saddle was embossed with flowers of goldsmiths' work, interlaced with precious stones; the very housing was covered with gold and jewels; "and the horse," says the relator, "as if "vain of his own glory, neighed, and grew "wantonly proud, and seemed to delight to "display his bravery to the company." *

At noon Frederic presided at the royal feast, which was partaken by hundreds of princes and nobles, in a temporary palace

* Tracts on German History, 1620.

constructed for the occasion in the royal gardens on the banks of the Moldau, which encircles the new Prague. The tables were covered with every luxury, and detained during seven hours the attentive guests; but the long protracted potations, however congenial to the Bohemians, exhausted the patience of the gayer part of the company, who eagerly withdrew to a pavilion erected in the same garden, where Elizabeth presided amidst a circle of German and English ladies. Music and dancing invited to enjoyment, and a bright scene of beauty, grace, and elegance, such as the Moldau had never before witnessed, was emulously displayed to friends and strangers. The prevailing themes were of joy and victory, of glory and love. The next day produced a scene still more attractive, in the marriage of Frederic's faithful friend, Baron d'Hona, and his long beloved Catharine Solms. In this also was observed the antiquated style of Bohemia — the king conducted the bridegroom, the queen led the bride to the altar;

and,in like manner, whilst Frederic feasted his nobles, the ladies dined with Elizabeth in a separate apartment. On the morrow there was a tilting match, at which the Transylvanians exhibited to advantage their warlike steeds. Every day there was some new device to captivate and surprise the guests. There was no longer in the court any vestige of the self-denying sovereign, who, five months before, had quitted Heidelberg with privacy and strictness, befitting a religious vocation. In the morning there was a chace beyond the White Hills, or a rural collation in the beautiful shrubberies of the Etoile. Every evening saw Elizabeth attired in some national or fanciful costume, appropriate to the masque or ballet which was afterwards enacted. As she passed through the military circle, every cavalier seemed ready to devote his life to her service: the sedate Andreas Schlick vied with the youthful son of Bernard Count Thurm, and the gallant Prince Christian of Anhalt, who seemed ready to invoke the enemy, that

they might signalize their valour for the royal fair. To the people also she was endeared by the birth of her son Rupert; an event for which the States testified their satisfaction by presenting gifts equivalent to £2000 sterling. Equally munificent were the other lords, "so that a man," says an English correspondent, "will cry out of the wars "as a consumer of treasure and impoverisher "of kingdoms, for here was a great store "of abundance, that a man would think "they neither wanted men nor money; and "from day to day," says the eye-witness, "such was the jollity of King Frederic, his "queen, his brother, the Duke of Wirtem-"berg, and the lords and ladies of his court, "that none could have formed an idea of "the intanglements abroad or the perplex-"ities at home." *

* (Tracts on German History, 1620.)——The following letter from Bethlem Gabor affords a specimen of the religious style then introduced in all diplomatic communications :—

"To the most excellent and illustrious Prince and

" Lord, Frederic, our most dear lord, brother,
" *gossip*, neighbour, and confederate.

" Great King,—The hopes and desires of your Ma-
" jesty's friends and our confederates have met at last
" with peace and contentment; whilst all the faithful
" and well-affected people, states, and nobility, joining
" hearts and voices, have now in the end, with one
" consent, delivered up the government of this king-
" dom into our hands, not doubting of our care and
" endeavour to protect the same; a work which none
" but men deprived of reason will acknowledge unto
" other than the immediate power of God. But it is
" enough that no times, from the foundation of the
" world, have given example or testimony of a more
" hearty and unanimous consent in the defence of true
" religion, the love of God, and the maintaining of
" Christian liberty." He concludes with urging that they should meet to confer on the state of religion, and the public weal of both countries. Dated August 28th, 1620.

" Subscribed your brother, gossip, and confederate,
" GABRIELL."

CHAPTER IX.

INTRIGUES OF THE LEAGUE.—THE ARCHDUCHESS AND THE HEIRESS OF PEQUIGNY. — CONVENTION AT ULM. — INVASION OF THE PALATINATE BY SPINOLA. — THE ELECTOR OF SAXONY IN LUSATIA. — THE DUKE OF BAVARIA ADVANCES TOWARDS PRAGUE. — CRITICAL POSITION OF FREDERIC. — PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE. — HEROISM OF ELIZABETH. — BATTLE OF PRAGUE.

That Elizabeth was ambitious, that even from infancy she aspired to comparison with illustrious personages, must have been evident to all who had observed the progressive development of her character. Naturally affectionate, even her sympathies assumed the tone of generous emulation, and kindled in her bosom a hero's love of

glory; but the ambition of this princess was of that romantic cast, which rarely conducts its possessor to greatness and prosperity. Disdaining sordid views and vulgar artifices, she trusted to courage and magnanimity to command success, and was utterly unpractised in that political chicanery, often more availing than talents, valour, or even wisdom, to prosperity. Without participating in the extravagance of fanatical visionaries, Elizabeth was actuated by a sincere and steady attachment to the Protestant religion, and a still more ardent and generous zeal for the maintenance of Protestant liberty. For the Catholics she had personally no antipathy; but the misrule and oppression of their rulers, and the hypocritical pretensions of their priestly advocates, excited her indignation and contempt. Imbued with chivalrous sentiments of honour, she had passionately desired that Frederic should accept the crown of Bohemia, and proudly pledged herself to dedicate to the cause of liberty the last jewel she pos-

sessed; but at that period she could not have anticipated defeat. Ignorant of the spell with which a sinister and absurd policy had paralyzed her father's movements, she naturally looked to him with confidence to co-operate in the Protestant cause, for which he had hitherto affected devotion; and if in this she was deceived, Maurice of Nassau and the Duke de Bouillon participated equally in the delusion. It is worthy of remark, that, by conspiring with the Prince of Orange against Barnevelt and the Remonstrants, James had in reality acted in concert with Frederic's partizans, and smoothed the way for his election to the crown of Bohemia. That Elizabeth relied on her father's assistance is evident; and she but participated in the astonishment of every potentate in Europe, when James not only refused to recognise Frederic as the lawful sovereign of Bohemia, but apologised to Ferdinand for his usurpation, and stigmatized as treason and rebellion, the generous efforts of an oppressed people. To account

for such preposterous conduct was not easy; and most difficult was the task imposed on the statesmen and diplomatists successively employed in unprofitable missions by the British monarch, to invent excuses, and fabricate reasons of colourable plausibility for their master's inconsistency. In vain did the high-spirited Digby, or the accomplished Wotton *, prostitute wisdom and eloquence in glossing over his tergiversation, with hypocritical professions of piety, charity, and magnanimity. These pretences of the British monarch imposed on none; and served only to convince the world that the latent object of his enigmatical movements was studiously concealed. Neither James nor his ministers ventured to acknowledge the true cause of his alienation from Frederic, who, as chief of the Protestant League alone, was entitled to his friendship; namely, that he had resolved, at any sacrifice, to marry his son to

* See, in Wotton's Letters, his conferences with the imperial ministers.

a Spanish infanta, and that the Christian forbearance which he recommended, and the respect which he manifested towards Ferdinand, had no other source than the suggestions of the Spanish ambassador, or the awe with which he was inspired for his future ally.*

That neither Elizabeth nor Frederic should have unravelled this intrigue, impeaches not their sense or judgment, but rather does honour to their candour and sincerity. According to the common principles of calculation, they reasonably expected that James should ultimately adopt that course which would be most conducive to their mutual interests; they

* This fact is well established by the correspondence of Carleton and Rowe. (See Rowe's Negociations.) The subject is amply elucidated in Le Vassor's Histoire du Règne de Louis Treize. In reality, the King of Spain laughed at the courtship of the British monarch, whose advances were tolerated only for the sake of Ferdinand, to whom he thus rendered effectual assistance. (See, in the Cabala, the letters of the King of Spain and Gondomar.)

erred only in supposing that he must inevitably admit what should seem to have been an irresistible conviction. They knew not that James, who had so lately concurred with Maurice of Nassau in opposing the pretensions of Spain, was now stimulated by pride and avarice, not only to abandon his former friends, but virtually to renounce the principles, and deceive the hopes of that party which alone had placed him on the throne. That James was not blind to the consequences of his tergiversation, and that he was perfectly aware of the reproaches which it merited, is evident from the attempts of his ministers to gloss over their master's unprincely abandonment of his former principles. Nor did they blush to attribute his evasion to a scrupulous conscience and sublime philanthropy, when, in reality, he was exclusively occupied with the idea of an Infanta, and the galleons of Mexico; or animated by no more noble sentiment than the pitiful pride of mingling his blood with that of Charles the

Fifth, and purchasing, at the price of honour, the plenary indulgence of all his childish fantasies. To Elizabeth, who had not fathomed the secret of this political obliquity, her father's measures must have appeared wholly incomprehensible; nor was it until six months after her arrival in Bohemia, that she learnt to estimate the mischief they had produced, when, in a meeting of the Protestant princes at Mulhausen, under the auspices of the Elector of Saxony, a letter was addressed to Frederic, exhorting him to relinquish the crown which he had usurped, and not to involve the common cause of Protestantism in the guilt of his rebellion.* It was unquestionably from James that the princes learned to adopt this insulting language to a chief, in whose measures they had previously concurred; to the stigma and the discouragement that the British monarch had cast on the holy cause

* See Mémoires de l'Electrice Louise Juliane. Le Vassor.

of freedom, was to be ascribed this base defection in the German Protestants * from a prince whom, but six months before, they had hailed as the champion of their faith and liberty.

Elizabeth was no longer blind to the perilous state of Frederic's affairs; but she fortified him in the resolution to maintain with dignity the high station he had been permitted to assume; and, in conformity with her wishes, he replied to the princes with firmness, refusing to desert the nation whose cause he had espoused, yet offering to submit to his natural judges as an Elector Palatine, provided that the Emperor would submit to be considered merely as an Archduke

* Many of these Protestants adhered to the confession of Augsburg. The fanaticism of Scultetus furnished a plausible excuse for their pretended apprehensions of persecution from the Calvinists, after the example of the contra-remonstrants in Holland. But it should have been recollected, that even had Frederic been disposed to resort to the terrors of persecution, the Lutherans and Catholics were more numerous than the Calvinists.

of Austria; against whom, and not against the Emperor, the offence imputed to Frederic had been committed. Six months sooner, such a proposition would have been embraced by Ferdinand with avidity. At that epoch, an armament, or even a well-directed menace, on the part of James, would have intimidated Frederic's enemies; but that moment was irrevocably lost; Ferdinand was in possession of the secret that regulated the British monarch's conduct. Six months earlier, the King of Spain and the Pope had been the Emperor's only allies; but now he had many colleagues, exclusive of those whom the cunning, the sophistry, and the eloquence of Bentivoglio had created.*

In France, a Jesuit's whisper alarmed the conscience of Louis the Thirteenth; a Lutheran minister aroused the prejudices of John George of Saxony, whilst Cardinal Bentivoglio, the Pope's nuncio, kindled the flames of discord between the two religious

* Cardinal Bentivoglio, the Pope's nuncio, a man of great wit and learning, and still more subtilty.

parties that struggled in France. But, perhaps, the best auxiliary to Ferdinand, at least the most pernicious enemy to Frederic, was a young heiress of Picardy residing at Brussels, under the protection of the archduchess. In that decorous court, where the ladies were permitted but at stated hours to listen to their adorers in the royal circle, and at other times could be seen only through the apertures of the latticed window, the fair Pequigny attracted universal homage. Whatever might be her personal attractions, it was her princely portion that fired the imagination of the Duke de Luines, the favoured minister of Louis the Thirteenth, who asked her hand for his younger brother, and obtained the boon from the archduchess on the simple condition that he, the minister, should pledge himself to prevent the King of France from assisting his ancient ally, the Elector Palatine, against Ferdinand, whose house had hitherto been regarded as the rival of that of Bourbon; in other words, that he should

perfidiously induce his master not only to renounce the legitimate policy of Henry the Fourth, but even the principles of all his predecessors, from the day of Francis the First, by whom it had been held an imperative duty to repress the gigantic power of the race of Hapsburg. To fulfil the engagement he had taken, De Luines first sought to embroil the king in a civil war with the Hugonots, who might otherwise have made a powerful diversion in Frederic's favour. In this he succeeded with little effort; the Catholic and Protestant parties eagerly flew to arms, and Louis, had he even been disposed to aid Frederic, was exclusively occupied with a more important object. De Luines was now acquitted of his promise; but, having advanced so far, his personal passions, and the jealousy he entertained for Frederic's kinsman, the Duke de Bouillon, stimulated him to persevere in his iniquitous project of sacrificing the new king to the vengeance of Ferdinand. For this purpose, and com-

pletely to silence the arguments of those more upright and enlightened statesmen, who remonstrated against an unqualified abandonment of the German Unionists, he suggested the plan of sending an embassy to the German princes, ostensibly to spare the effusion of Christian blood; but in reality to seduce them to a shameless desertion of the ill-fated chief, whom they were bound, by every sentiment of honour and humanity, religion or policy, to support. The personages selected for this mission were well calculated, by their rank and dignity, to conciliate German prejudices; and so temperate was the language employed on this occasion by the French court, that even the Duke de Bouillon *, by whom the Protestant cause, on the grounds of policy, had been strenuously advocated in the French cabinet, witnessed their departure without inquietude. It could not, however, escape his penetration, that Ferdinand was about

* Le Vassor, Histoire du Règne de Louis Treize, pour l'an 1620.

to take a menacing position, since the Dukes of Bavaria and Saxony were evidently disposed to invade Bohemia, and the Spanish commander, Marquis Spinola, had been suffered with impunity to raise an army in Flanders, of which he refused to announce the object; but which, by all rational observers, was expected to invade the Palatinate.

In vain did Weston, the British envoy, address inquiries or remonstrances to the court of Brussels *; and hopelessly did the afflicted Juliana implore protection from the ruin impending on her family. The Prince of Orange, though involved in a war with Spain, dispatched to her relief whatever forces could be spared from the States, under the command of his brother, Henry Frederic; with whom co-operated a company of brave British volunteers. In the meanwhile, a secret negociation had been ad-

* See State Papers. Sir Thomas Rowe's Letters and Negociations. Mémoires de l'Electrice Louise Juliane.

vancing between Ferdinand and Maximilian, by which the latter agreed to furnish money and troops to reduce Bohemia to obedience. For this service the province of Upper Austria was to be given in pledge of future indemnification from the spoils of the Palatinate.

At the same time allurements were held out to the Elector of Saxony; but it was judged necessary to throw a veil of mystery over these diplomatic arrangements, until the result of the embassy to the Protestant princes should be decided. These elaborate artifices could not entirely deceive the unfortunate objects to whose ruin they were directed; and from the private correspondence of Frederic and Elizabeth * it is evident, that whilst to the superficial observer they appeared only to live for pomp and pleasure, they were, in reality, devoured with solicitudes which destroyed all appetite for enjoyment. The brilliant queen, who,

* See Bromley's Royal Letters.

during the visit of Bethlem's ambassadors, was each morning the first to propose some excursion to the neighbouring hills, or to devise some evening amusement amid the charming plantations of the Etoile, and who, whether she rode, or walked, or conversed, exerted all her powers of captivation, was constantly oppressed with cares and sad forebodings. In listening to the king's details of the counteraction he was sure to experience from the indolence of Bohemian nobles, or the cupidity of German counsellors — the jealousy of the former — the perverseness of the latter — she found sufficient reason to regret that she had ever been crowned a queen; but as she saw also that Frederic had advanced too far to recede, she constantly strengthened him in the resolution to maintain his rights and vindicate his honour.

In justice to Frederic it should be observed, that, from the period of Bethlem's embassy, he had habituated himself to military exercises, and attempted to introduce

even into the army habits of order and discipline, which, by the Bohemian nobles, were rejected with contempt.* Proud of their feudal prerogatives, those haughty chiefs, who affected to leap into the saddle like Zisca's soldiers, disdained to endure any personal restraint, or to submit to the necessary laws of subordination. If the king summoned them to the field at six in the morning to attend their military duties, they replied, with murmurs, that they must have time for rest and recreation.† By nature brave and hospitable, they were immeasurably addicted to pride and jealousy. If they attended in council, it was only to waste time in frivolous discussions respecting rank and precedence. In whatever pursuit they engaged, they introduced feasting and jollity. Hitherto, such was their blindness, they had not allowed themselves to contemplate as a possibility the ultimate failure of their enterprize. At this moment a

* Theatre of Europe, first vol. † Ibid.

meteoric illumination of the heavens created a wonderful sensation among the contending parties. By the Catholics this phenomenon was exalted into a vision of angels, who were suddenly seen to glide in procession to a strain of heavenly music. To efface this impression, Frederic and Elizabeth contented themselves with attributing the preternatural light to some fairy spell; Scultetus insisted it was a symbol that the dead rejoiced, because the great church had been purified from idolatry; whilst the rex chancellor, Baron Rupa, affected to consider it as portentous of the Emperor's death.

In the meanwhile, the ratification of the compact with Transylvania and Silesia was celebrated as a jubilee, and afforded Scultetus an opportunity of exercising his eloquence on the congenial themes of Christian charity and brotherly concord. Immediately after followed a ceremony of all others most interesting to Elizabeth's maternal feelings; this was the public recognition of her eldest son, Henry Frederic, as his

father's successor to the crown of Bohemia; and that nothing might arise to excite prejudice in either of the three religious parties, it was simply a civil rite, or acknowledgment from the three estates of the realm, who swore to him allegiance.* In demanding this acknowledgment, Frederic was supposed to be actuated only by motives of personal solicitude for the aggrandizement of his family; but he appears to have rather recurred to it with the hope of awakening the patriotic pride of the people, by whose voice he had been chosen. Having become fully sensible of the temerity of his enterprize, he sought, by desperate efforts, to maintain the ground which he had taken. Day after day the words of Juliana were forcibly recalled to his mind with a

* The Lutheran ministers, when required to attend the high church for this purpose, declined, until they should have previously obtained the consent of their congregations, which was freely granted. The young Henry Frederic was therefore nominated by the people of Prague. See Kevenhuller, ninth vol.

conviction of their prophetic truth.* Had not the King of Great Britain acted as she foreboded? Did not the Dukes of Bavaria and Saxony justify her suspicions? Were not the Bohemians as capricious as she had represented them? The omnipotence of Spain and Austria, was not that also demonstrated? But Frederic still flattered himself that Bethlem Gabor, almost his only auxiliary, would prove better than Juliana had prognosticated, and that the princes of the Union, the pillars of the Protestant state of Germany, could never descend to the baseness of abandoning him to a vindictive enemy. By the Margrave of Brandenberg and Anspach, the Dukes of Wirtemberg and Brunswick, he had been incited to accept the crown which he now found so full of thorns: for their interests he had hazarded the safety of his paternal estates; and policy, no less than justice, demanded that they should watch over that

* Theatre of Europe.

country which he had in a manner consigned to their protection. But, exclusive of these his natural friends, Frederic counted on the disaffection of Ferdinand's government which prevailed in Upper and Lower Austria among his Protestant subjects. To foment these divisions, Count Thurm, and his powerful coadjutor Mansfeldt (hereafter to be particularly introduced to the reader), advanced into the heart of the province, and were soon reinforced by Hungarian malcontents. In Prague the deportment of the citizens was still loyal, and, if it were safe to judge of men by their professions, the nobles were all heroes. Nor less patriotic seemed the citizens, who flocked to the council house, or the bishop's court, and pledged themselves to forsake their homes, to devote their fortunes, to sacrifice their lives, in defence of their king and country. But this glow of patriotism was checked by distrust of the Catholics; and that numerous body, of whose patriotism the directors had wisely availed themselves in the

preceding year, were suddenly struck from the military enrolment; an exclusion rather calculated to spread disaffection than to repel the treachery already in existence. In the midst of these cabals arrived a triumphal deputation from the malcontents of Austria, who, after having paraded the streets in coaches, were edified with a sermon, and regaled with a feast, at which conviviality was stimulated by stale jokes of the fugitive Jesuits, and unseasonable witticisms on Ferdinand, Maximilian, and John George of Saxony; of these the first was designated as the *blind hound*, the second as the *Bavarian sow*, whilst on the Duke of Saxony was bestowed the more appropriate epithet of *dead drunk*.*

"And now," says Kevenhuller, "the mur-
"murs of the faithful began to arise: there
"was a skirmish of pens, an inundation of
"writings, on either side." Frederic published a series of manifestoes in vindication

* Kevenhuller.

of his pure intentions, conjuring the people, as they honoured their fathers, or cherished their country, by all they loved or valued, to rally round his standard, and defend, to their latest breath, their civil and religious liberties. In their counter-manifestoes, the faithful had not forgotten to call up those old and venerable associations which could most influence the uncultivated mind. They pretended to consider the Austrian princes as the lineal and legitimate representatives of the beloved *Premislaus*, and therefore to claim for them the native affections and uncancelled duties of the people. "For you, "rebels and traitors as ye are" said the advocates of Ferdinand, "that conspire "against your native princes, your deserts "shall not be long withheld. And for what, "think ye, have you girded on armour "against your lawful lord? For what hath "the whole kingdom put on a buckler? "and wherefore do ye minister arms to each "other? The king pays you with fair "speeches; but no sooner shall he have

" confirmed his rule, than ye shall see your-
" selves disarmed, and trampled under foot,
" and prostrate in the dust." — Absurd as were these charges, it is not impossible but that they produced some impression on the Lutherans, who still resented the outrages committed on their images, and many of whom dreaded that the persecution which the synod of Dort had authorized against the Arminians, might be revived to the prejudice of their own party; forgetting that in Bohemia they outnumbered their opponents, and that, in conjunction with the Catholics, they were sure to predominate over the evangelic communion; whilst the Catholics, if re-established in their ancient supremacy, would easily crush the reformed sects, that now wasted their strength in mutual hostility." *

At length arrived the month of August; and never had Frederic, in the preceding year, more anxiously waited at Amberg for

* Kevenhuller, ninth volume.

tidings from Bohemia, than he now looked towards Egra for news from the Palatinate. It was notorious that the Princes of the Union had taken the field, under the Marquis of Anspach; with whom was confronted Maximilian of Bavaria, with the army of the League. *

The chivalry of Germany were all collected around the walls of Ulm, and Elizabeth and her ladies could talk of nothing but the profusion of banners to be displayed in the vicinage of that city, and which must give to it the air and majesty of an eastern tournament. The courtiers were incessantly debating whether the two armies ought to engage — whether the campaign was likely to be terminated by a single blow. — Messenger after messenger arrived, from whom they learnt that a battle was expected; another day produced fresh dispatches, and they heard only of the magnificent deputation from France, composed

* Schmidt. Spanheim. Le Vassor. Histoire du Règne de Louis Treize.

of the Duke d'Angoulême, Messieurs De Bethune and De Preaux. Visits had been interchanged; courtesies reciprocated; but as the princes of the Union were at this time numerically more powerful than the chiefs of the League; the mediation of France might be friendly and salutary. Frederic and Elizabeth still cherished hope until the 24th of August had passed. After that epoch all was over. The French deputies artfully prevailed on the hostile parties to pledge themselves to neutrality in the dispute pending between the King of Bohemia and the Emperor Ferdinand; and, on the plea of charity and brotherly concord, the two armies separated without a single blow. The Marquis of Anspach disbanded — the Protestants decamped — leaving Frederic the victim of this pretended homage to conscience. It was, indeed, stipulated, that the Princes should protect the Palatinate; but how vain that bond, when Spinola, a Spanish general, who could not be subjected to the conditions of the

treaty, was ready to invade it by the authority of the King of Spain, the avowed ally of Ferdinand; whilst Maximilian* of Bavaria, in obedience to his sovereign liege the Emperor, might attack Bohemia, which, being in a state of rebellion, was not included in the religious peace of Germany; nor could it be doubted, but that his example would be imitated by the Elector of Saxony, the Protestant chief whom Frederic, a year ago, had been willing to place on the throne of Bohemia. The result of the convention at Ulm was a thunder-clap to Frederic and Elizabeth. The mist had fallen from their eyes; Juliana's predictions were fatally verified; yet, instead of yielding to despondence, they looked to James for

* The Emperor coalescing with Maximilian, who pretended that he was bound to obey his lawful sovereign, concentrated his forces against Bohemia; whilst Spinola, who could not be implicated in the treaty of Ulm, advancing from Flanders, attacked the Palatinate, and effectually prevented all further assistance from Frederic's hereditary dominions. (See Spanheim, Mémoires de l'Electrice Palatine.)

some manifestation of parental feeling, or Protestant principles; but in vain did Carleton or Rowe, or other enlightened statesmen, urge him to make an effort worthy of the successor of Elizabeth. The infatuated monarch averted his eyes from the perilous crisis in which he saw his son-in-law placed, continued to lend his ear to the blandishments of Gondomar, and, with wilful blindness, invited new insults from his artificial allies.

It was now that the unfortunate King of Bohemia too late discovered his error, in having stript his electoral dominions of ammunition and money for the defence of a kingdom of which he was little likely to retain possession. According to the testimony of English and German contemporaries, Frederic had spared neither gold nor credit to support his Bohemian subjects; the cupidity of Prince Anhalt in part intercepted the supplies for the army; and to the suppressed murmurs of the troops, were added the mutual jealousies existing between their

commanders. The Bohemian Lords disdained to yield obedience to a foreign general; even Count Thurm refused to serve under Count Hohenloe. In like manner Count Mansfelt, who had all his life been a soldier of fortune, and who was not only fond of supremacy, but accustomed to the independence of a freebooter, gladly withdrew from Prague to attack the Austrian frontier.

Towards the close of September, Frederic announced his intention of joining Prince Anhalt. Elizabeth witnessed his departure with her wonted fortitude. Having previously secured the safety of their eldest son, Henry Frederic, who was conveyed by his uncle, the Count Palatine Louis, to Friezland, to the care of his mother's kinswoman, the Countess Ernest of Nassau, with whom she had corresponded ever since the happy hour when they first met at the Hague. Even for this precaution, the result of parental tenderness, was Frederic blamed; for what is so easy as to reproach

the unfortunate? But it should have been remembered, that he was now no stranger to the jealousy and levity of the Bohemian nation, and that he but discharged a sacred duty in preserving his son from the danger to which he was himself exposed.

The Elector of Saxony had now declared for Ferdinand, by sending an army into Lusatia, which he reclaimed to the Emperor's obedience. By this movement Frederic was not only deprived of the aid he expected from Silesia, but had to distribute his forces, by sending a division of his army to that province, under the young Marquis of Jagerndorf. * Nor was this the only mischief resulting from the French embassy. Nôt content with the triumph they had achieved at Ulm, the same personages proceeded to Presburg, where, by dint of flattery and intimidation, they persuaded Bethlem Gabor to conclude a temporary truce with the Emperor, before the

* A young prince of the House of Brunswick.

expiration of which, the fate of Frederic was likely to be decided. Against a combination at once so formidable and invidious, Frederic had only to oppose his own forces, aided by the fanaticism of a minor party, which was too well counteracted by the perfidy or disaffection of the greater part of his Bohemian subjects. Among the Catholics, and even of the Lutherans, the majority were now either his lukewarm friends, or concealed enemies. Where, but in Thurm and Schlick, could he look for honour and truth, valour and patriotism?

In the meanwhile, the armament of Spinola was overrunning the Palatinate; his father-in-law remained passive; even Bethlem Gabor was neutralized. Neither the Count Hohenloe nor the Princes of Anhalt were deficient in military skill; but they were ill provided with ammunition, and, what was still worse, jealousy and distraction prevailed in their counsels.* It was far

* The following extracts from the correspondence

otherwise with Maximilian; who, after his junction with the Austrian commander,

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of the day, will afford the best evidence of the almost impracticable difficulties of Frederic's position:—

"PRAGUE, *1st of September* 1620.

"The Duke of Bavaria hath openly declared him-
"self an enemy to the king and this country; and as
"he alleges to put the imperial commission in execu-
"tion, notwithstanding that, in his letter to the king,
"he subscribes himself, 'your true cousin and friend'
"—the king's majesty hath answered him bravely,
"that for all his menaces, he doth not mean to go
"back in his resolution. The Duke of Bavaria hath
"a part of his army near the border of Bohemia;
"another he hath sent to Buequoy; a third he hath
"left in Austria, upon the Ense. Our great army is
"still in Austria, where it is increased by the Hun-
"garians; our other army is under Count Thurm, and
"Mansfelt lies at Wesceley, two miles from Mulhausen,
"and two miles from Budweiss. In that army there
"are four regiments of foot — the Count of Mansfelt,
"Count Gray's, the Duke of Weymar, and Scalon's,
"besides a thousand Hungarian horse, and English
"volunteers.

"The Elector of Saxony hath respectfully heard
"our ambassadors; but his answer is, he must obey the
"imperial commission, and seize on the crown for the
"emperor. Whereupon he gathers his army together,
"bending towards Aussig, or Lusatia the Superior,

Bucquoy, lost not a single moment in advancing towards Prague, the great object of his enterprize.

" God, the most just judge, will in mercy look down " upon us, and, according to the equity of our cause, " help us, since our friends, kinsmen, and allies, and " even those of our own religion, not only leave us in " our necessity to take part with the papist, but who " reward us evil for good, and are become our enemies " without cause. Yet both Saxon and Bavarian stay " for the coming of Spinola, and then they mean ut- " terly to undo us; they are agreed to dine at Prague " on Michaelmas day; but, with God's grace, they " shall find good resistance, and, it may be, fray for " their dinner.

" We sent 5000 Silesians, together with the coun- " try soldiers, towards the borders of Misnia and Lu- " satia. There is some fear of the Pole; who, being " solicited by the Saxon, may peradventure invade " Silesia. Bethlem Gabor is gone towards Presburg* to " be crowned; he desires earnestly to have a personal " meeting with our general, the Prince of Anhalt. His " army he hath divided into three parts; one to stay " and wait upon the Turk and Pole, if they should at- " tempt any thing; another are fallen upon Stiria, " where now they are spoiling all; the third he hath

* This was previous to the arrival of the French embassy at Presburg.

In the meanwhile, Frederic shewed no want of courage in the field, and his private letters are equally marked by prudence and tenderness. From the camp he wrote to Elizabeth that he was surrounded by traitors and spies, by whom the Duke of Bavaria and Marshal Bucquoy were apprised of his movements; that he had offered an interview, which Maximilian haughtily declined, and that he had signified his resolution not to abdicate the crown.* In conclusion, he conjured her to banish gloomy

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" sent to join with our army. God turn all things to
" the best, for now are these goodly countries likely
" to be ruined — his majesty uses all his endeavours
" to the contrary."

" The Romish priests begin to be jealous of the Ba-
" varian, who they see looks more to his own profit
" than the welfare of the church, for he takes all Up-
" per Austria to his own obedience — and Saxony be-
" gins to do the like. He hath sent letters to the
" Count of Schlick, governor of Lusatia, who returns
" him no other answer, than vowing to remain and die
" constant to his king and country, leaving the issue
" to Almighty God."

* Bromley's Royal Letters.

forebodings. But it was in vain that he attempted to disguise the melancholy feelings which had taken possession of his own mind. "What madness is it," he observes, "to "lavish embellishments on a poor, inani- "mate corpse! For myself, I should desire "nothing more than a plain linen shroud. "I trust Providence may long preserve us "both to live together; but, in the name "of God, I conjure you to be careful of "your own health, if not for your own sake, "for mine, for our beloved children, and "for that dear being yet unborn, whose ex- "istence is bound up in yours. Yield not "to despondence. I would fain be with "you; but this being my vocation, I trust "you do not the less believe me your de- "voted friend in life and death." — "God "grant," says Frederic, on the eve of the battle of Rakonitz, "it may not be neces- "sary you should depart from Prague; but "it is better to prepare for the worst; other- "wise, in case of an emergency, we should "be thrown into extreme confusion. Could

" I but once receive the assurance that you
" were perfectly resigned to the will of God,
" I should experience unspeakable comfort.
" Without this resignation on my part, I
" had long since sunk under the heavy bur-
" then of afflictions which it has pleased
" Divine Providence to impose. Tell me,
" then, freely your sentiments on this sub-
" ject, and whether you do not acquiesce in
" the propriety of retiring from Prague in
" good order, whilst order may be preserved,
" rather than wait until you shall be com-
" pelled by the enemy to a precipitate flight.
" We are now near the Bavarian camp.
" Yesterday he saluted us with his cannon;
" to-day we have had another *feu-de-joie*.
" Once more I entreat you to believe that
" I would not urge you to depart contrary
" to your own choice; I merely transmit
" my opinion; above all, be assured I am,
" for my whole life, your faithful and de-
" voted Frederic."

Convinced that the removal of the court would be construed into desertion of the ca-

pital, Elizabeth resisted all Frederic's entreaties to abandon that scene of danger, from which she had been eager to remove her son. Had she even acquiesced in the proposition, it was not easy to discover to what place she could withdraw for safety. Silesia offered no asylum, for it bordered on Lusatia, already invaded by a Saxon army. The Upper Palatinate was assailed by hostile troops. Even Juliana, with whom she had left her daughter Elizabeth and her second son, had with difficulty escaped from Heidelberg, and was now sheltered by her son-in-law, the Marquis of Brandenburgh. Neither Denmark nor England was accessible. The route to Holland was no longer practicable. For her own person she might perhaps have nothing to fear; but her principles and feelings alike forbade her to separate her interests from those of the husband whom she had stimulated to engage in this ill-fated enterprize. Steady to this resolution, she continued, with an aching heart, to dispense smiles and donations to the citizens, to sug-

gest patriotic or religious mottoes for the banners about to be unrolled, to animate equally her ladies and her warriors, and to repeat to the old and young that there was no alternative but glory or death, victory or disgrace. Such was the part Elizabeth assumed in her motley court; but in her private moments it required all the consolations suggested by the consciousness of upright intentions, fortified by the persuasion that she had embraced a religious duty, to enable her to contemplate with calmness the evils of her position. It is evident from Frederic's * letters that she reproached herself for the calamities in part occasioned by her rash counsels. She sometimes feared she had forfeited her husband's affections, and was even betrayed into expressions of wild and desperate courage, which drew from him a tender reproof.

At this moment, however, Frederic meditated an enterprize, which, if successful,

* See Bromley's Royal Letters.

would immediately relieve them both from the impending evil. Having learnt that Maximilian was entrenched at Rakonitz, at some distance from Bucquoy's army, he undertook, by the advice of his two generals, Hohenloe and Prince Anhalt, to make a nocturnal attack on their camp. This expedition was so well arranged, that, but for the treacherous communications which were carried on by his army with the invaders, it must have been crowned with complete success. By the artifices of these traitors, Frederic's troops were misdirected by the guides, and, after a fatiguing march, when they reached the enemy's lines, had the mortification to find the troops ready for their reception. Even then Frederic displayed an intrepidity and self-possession of which his adversaries had not believed him capable. The retreat was conducted in good order, and he transmitted to his faithful consort an account of the transaction, with the emphatic remark, "we have no

"scarcity of traitors in our camp."* Even at this critical moment Elizabeth discovered some glimmerings of hope in the military skill of the Prince of Anhalt; above all, in the premature advances of winter, which might alone compel the invaders to make a precipitate retreat. The last circumstance had not been overlooked by Maximilian, who, though habitually slow and cautious, now pressed forward with a celerity that astonished and almost alarmed his compeer†; in opposition to whose advice he seized on the heights of Wiessenburg, so lately the scene of many a pleasurable excursion for sprightly dames and gallant cavaliers. In consequence of this movement, the Bohemians and Hungarians entrenched themselves in the Etoile Park, than which no more advantageous post could have been chosen to ensure the protection of Prague.

On the 19th of November, perceiving that the enemy were about to form in order

* Bromley's Royal Letters.

† Marechal Bucquoy.

of battle, Frederic, who, with the advice of his generals, had so disposed his troops as completely to prevent a surprize of the capital, rode through the ranks, conjuring the soldiers to fight as became the champions of religion and truth, who had taken up arms against tyrants and oppressors. In conclusion, he reminded them that he had quitted his dominions for their sake, and that they had sworn to him allegiance. His speech produced a lively impression on his hearers; but, in attempting to inspire confidence, Frederic could not disguise to himself the deficiency of his cavalry, and, however equal in numbers, the disparity of his army in military discipline, and the ability of its chiefs. Of valiant men, of cavaliers, and heroes, many were to be found in either host. The British and Dutch volunteers who followed Frederic's banner were animated by chivalrous sentiments for Elizabeth and the Protestant cause; the intrepid Bernard Thurm, no less than the dignified Andreas Schlick, were formed for heroic

deeds; nor should we overlook that brave Englishman, Ensign Hopton, afterwards equally celebrated for his valour and wisdom. But not all the energy concentrated in this brilliant phalanx could supply the place of one consummate chief, adequate to contend with two such chiefs as Maximilian and Bucquoy. Unfortunately, Count Thurm held a subordinate rank, and Mansfelt, who alone possessed genius to have coped with both generals, was not present. Still more inauspicious was the want of harmony and confidence in Frederic's military chiefs, evils originating in the jealousy of the Bohemian nobles, and the competition of the two German commanders, the elder Prince of Anhalt and Count Hohenloe; but, above all, fatal to the fortunes of Frederic, was the disaffection pervading the capital, and the treachery which lurked in the camp.

The elder Prince of Anhalt assumed the command of the right wing, and the Count Hohenloe presided over the left. In the adverse army, the Duke of Bavaria led the

right, the Marshal Bucquoy the left wing.* But after the first preliminary movements, an awful pause intervened between the embattled hosts. This delay was occasioned by an opposition of opinion in the Duke of Bavaria and the Marshal Bucquoy; in consequence of which a council of war was held, when all the imperial generals voted with the Austrian for deferring the engagement. Unmoved by their argument, Maximilian adhered to his opinion with a firmness bordering on obstinacy; when, in aid of his judgment, and probably not without his private suggestion, a Dominican priest rushing into the tent, vehemently exclaimed, "Fight, and ye shall prosper, in the name "of the Lord of Hosts!" — "In his "name," cried Maximilian, who quickly perceived the impression that had been made on his hearers, "in his name be the battle "given, for in that alone is a tower of "strength." — Jesu Maria was the watch-

* The latter supported by Verdugo, Count Tilly, and other generals of established reputation.

word, and every soldier heard in it the voice of sacred inspiration.

In the meanwhile, similar disputes had arisen among Frederic's generals. Count Hohenloe having offered to surround Maximilian's divisions of the army, which, separated from the other wing, had straggled over the heights of Weissenburg, this proposition the Prince of Anhalt opposed, whether with honourable or treacherous views must remain unknown. It soon appeared that the precious moment in which this evolution might have been achieved, had been lost in deliberations. During this conference, Frederic, to whom had been allotted a post in the army of reserve, perceiving some hesitation in the enemy's movements, and flattering himself they would not commence the attack, returned to the city, where his presence was necessary to preserve confidence and tranquillity.

Aware of the necessity that existed for appeasing the terrors of the people, Elizabeth did not countermand the orders she

had given for an entertainment to the English and Danish ambassadors, and such was the effect this apparent unconcern produced upon the public mind, that, this being Sunday, all the churches and chapels of Prague were, as usual, crowded with their respective congregations. But the secret vows of the multitude were divided; and the greater part were prepared to recognize the justice of the victor. A passage, which happened to occur in the second lesson, infused dismay even into the loyal breast. The words, "Render unto Cæsar that which is Cæ-" sar's," came with the authority of an oracular sentence, and inspired superstitious feelings of remorse. But how awfully was that impression enforced and heightened, when, suddenly, the concussion of the two hosts shook to their foundations the ancient towers of Prague, and impressed on every auditor a presage of impending destruction. In an instant, the minister quitted his pulpit, the people rushed with one impulse towards the gate called Strathoff, immediately

leading to the scene of battle.* Frederic affected at first to consider the reverberations of the cannon as a mere skirmish; but he was soon agreeably surprised, with a messenger from the Prince of Anhalt, announcing the victory which had been obtained over Bucquoy, by the irresistible efforts of his brave son, Prince Christian, Andreas Schlick, and Bernard Thurm. "The enemies flee, the day is ours!" was echoed from every lip. Frederic listened with apprehension rather than exultation. The momentary pause of silence revived hopes almost relinquished. But the calm was transient: again were heard the shouts of the soldiers — the sound of the drums — the cannon's deafening roar; and to the internal dismay of Frederic, the noise was nearer than before, and the cries had a sound too appalling to proceed from the fugitive enemy. With secret dismay, he despatched a messenger to Anhalt. After twenty mi-

* Schmidt.

nutes no answer was returned; but the roaring of the cannon became more tremendous. No longer able to endure suspense, the king mounted his fleetest courser, and, almost in an instant, was transported to the gate already mentioned, the tower above which commanded a full view of the surrounding country. Arrived at that spot, a thousand dissonant cries confirmed his sinister forebodings; and no sooner had he ascended the steps leading to the turret, than he discovered the park to be crowded with fugitives. His artillery was directed against his own discomfited soldiers, who, chased in every direction, were struggling but to reach a place of shelter. A single glance revealed to the unhappy prince the extent of his calamity. The beautiful park, that auspicious spot where, but a year ago, he had received the homage of Bohemia, was now the scene of carnage and despair. All was lost; and, fatally to convince him of this mournful truth, he beheld, not Prince Christian of Anhalt, who was wounded and

a prisoner, nor Andreas Schlick, for he, too, had fallen into the hands of the enemy, but the Prince of Anhalt, the commander-in-chief, stript of his hat and plume, rushing towards the gate, which, from a sudden impulse of fear, had been closed on hundreds of fugitives, who, like him, demanded shelter. At this agonizing sight, Frederic almost threw himself from the turret to the earth, with a forcible expression of despair; but, instantly recalling his self-possession, he commanded the gate to be reopened; and, by that timely effort of humanity, redeemed, among many hundreds of his soldiers, the gallant son of Count Thurm, from impending death or captivity. But, no sooner was this duty performed, than believing, as Prince Anhalt assured him, that all was lost, he returned to the palace, where the news of his misfortune had before arrived, and from which he hurried away Elizabeth, in a private carriage, for the old town of Prague; and thus was she almost unconsciously carried over the

bridge*, from whence the ancient crucifix had been lately removed, a circumstance long after recalled with bitterness by the victorious party. For some moments, Frederic seemed stunned with the calamity; but, on lifting his wife from the carriage, he said with a deep sigh, "I now know where I am. We "princes seldom learn the truth till we are "taught it by adversity." † Within these ancient walls, the king and queen might rest secure from immediate danger; but who should guarantee their future safety? At the

* In a contemporary pamphlet Elizabeth is reproached with the repugnance she had discovered to the sight of that massive crucifix; and she is thus insultingly apostrophized by the writer: "Whither "goest thou, Elizabeth? Whither but over the bridge "which thou didst refuse to pass on the specious pre-"text of modesty, and because thou wouldst not look "upon the men and women bathing in the stream be-"neath. Mockery and falsehood! It was because thou "couldst not endure to look upon that holy object. "Unsanctified — unbeliever — thou art now carried "whither thou wouldst not follow," &c.

† This passage is misquoted in the English translation of Schiller's Thirty Years' War.

suggestion of their counsellors, a messenger was despatched to Maximilian, demanding a truce, which was peremptorily refused; and the utmost indulgence that Frederic could ultimately obtain from his kinsman, was a suspension of hostilities for eight hours. Within that interval, the unhappy king had to decide whether he should maintain his pretensions, or utterly renounce them. In justice to Frederic, it should be observed that Count Thurm, the original author of his election, and who, no less resolute than ardent, had been the last to quit the field, conjured Frederic to hasten his departure from Prague, where the Emperor's ban was impending on his head, and the Dukes of Saxony and Bavaria were eager to execute its mandates.* Leaving to the Marquis of Jagerdorf, the young prince of the House of Brunswick, who had already opposed the Saxons in Lusatia, to maintain his claims in Bohemia, Frederic determined to retire to

* Schmidt. Le Vassor. Spanheim, Mémoires de l'Electrice Louise Juliane.

Silesia, a step for which he was afterwards branded with cowardice. To remain in Prague after the evident symptoms of disaffection that had been discovered, would, however, have been little short of madness; to treat with Maximilian, was paramount to submission. In this dilemma the only alternative he could embrace was flight, by which he allowed time to James and his other allies, if any he still possessed, to interpose in his favour. With regard to the city of Prague, he imposed no restrictions on its municipal authorities, who were competent to treat for themselves. It should also be remembered, that he had not instigated the insurrection sanctioned by the States, nor even invited their confidence; and that the people, in whose behalf he had forsaken his native subjects, actually refused to advance money for the necessary maintenance of hostilities against the common foe. Impressed with these convictions, Elizabeth no longer opposed the abandonment of the capital; and, ere the eight hours expired, she for ever

quitted it. At the moment of departure all was panic and dismay, and the historians of the day have not disdained to notice, among the most important details, that the queen's night clothes, and the king's insignia of the order of the Garter, were left behind. Of the ladies, Elizabeth alone retained self-possession; her bosom friend, Anne Dudley, was overwhelmed with the fate of her husband, who had fallen in the fatal conflict; the others were appalled with apprehensions for the queen's future destiny. Nor could Elizabeth herself be insensible to the danger; but when Bernard Count Thurm, from whom she received an homage bordering on idolatry, eagerly proposed to defend the citadel a few days, in order to allow her more time to withdraw from pursuit, Elizabeth exclaimed, with true womanly heroism, " I forbid the sacrifice. " Never shall the son of our best friend " hazard his life to spare my fears — never " shall this devoted city be exposed to more " outrageous treatment for my sake. Ra-

"ther let me perish on the spot, than be "remembered as a curse." * And, with these words, she commenced her fatiguing and hazardous journey.†

* Quoted by Harte, in his Gustavus Adolphus.

† The accounts of the battle of Prague are various and contradictory. It has been stated, even by Schiller, that Frederic absconded from the action; but it appears, from the most unequivocal testimony, among others, of his contemporary, the author of Le Mercure François, and even his enemy, Kevenhuller, that he rode through the ranks, and exhorted the soldiers to do their duty. His subsequent absence has been sufficiently explained. According to Frederic Spanheim, whose information was derived from Juliana, there had been a disagreement among Frederic's generals, of whom the Count Hohenloe recommended the surrounding of Maximilian, to which the Prince of Anhalt objected; and it was afterwards pretended that the latter carried on a secret correspondence with the Emperor, by whom he was shortly after pardoned. To gain time should unquestionably have been the policy of Frederic's generals, as Prague was well supplied with provisions, and the enemy, destitute of necessaries, must soon have retired from its walls. According to Schmidt, both armies displayed admirable courage. He says, that Maximilian had prematurely encamped on the heights of Weissenburg; when, to prevent the circumvention which Count Hohenloe meditated, he commenced an attack on the Bohemians, which Prince Christian

repulsed with vigour, till, overpowered by numbers, and severely wounded, he was compelled to surrender his sword. The action then becoming general, the enemy took possession of the cannon, and 4000 Bohemians were slain on the spot. The victory was complete — the ruin irretrievable. It was unquestionable that Prague had resources within herself, sufficient to justify resistance; but distrust and disaffection prevailed within. Nor could Frederic banish the suspicion, that the traitors who had connived at his defeat, might conspire for his destruction. Nothing appeared to him so dreadful as that he should fall into the conqueror's hands. The example of the Landgrave of Hesse was ever before his eyes. He knew Ferdinand to be vindictive; he had learnt that Maximilian was deceitful; nothing remained but to avert by flight his own ignominy, or, perhaps, the sacrifice of his wife and children. If Rupa and Thurm, both brave and resolute — the latter also popular — if these, who so lately possessed the confidence of their compatriots, found it necessary to fly, what remained for the unhappy king but to take the same course? — The account given by Schiller is totally unlike the statements of contemporary writers, and the testimony of Frederic's correspondence. See Mercure François, and Bromley's Royal Letters.

CHAPTER X.

JOURNEY FROM BRESLAW TO FRANKFORT.—APPLICATION TO GEORGE WILLIAM OF BRANDENBURGH.—RECEPTION AT CUSTRIN.—BIRTH OF MAURICE.—EXCURSION OF FREDERIC TO BERLIN.—MEETING WITH HIS MOTHER.—VISITED BY A PROPHET.—ELIZABETH REMOVES TO WOLFEN-BUTTLE IN BRUNSWICK.—CORDIAL RECEPTION AT THAT COURT.—ELIZABETH ESCORTED THROUGH WESTPHALIA BY A DETACHMENT SENT BY PRINCE MAURICE.—RECEPTION AT THE HAGUE.—WELCOMED BY THE STATES AND FOREIGN AMBASSADORS.—LODGED IN PRINCE HENRY'S PALACE.

"THE Catholics have conquered," writes Cardinal Bentivoglio from Paris, "they "have dispersed the Palsgrave's troops, and "are actually in possession of Prague. How "will this news transfix the breasts of the "Hugonots! and what will the Duke de

" Bouillon say — the original architect of " his nephew's speculations—Bouillon, who " but a year ago boasted, at the solemnity " of the Knights of the Holy Ghost, that " whilst others made knights, he had cre- " ated kings. Behold now a king with- " out a kingdom, a palsgrave without the " palatinate, and, I trust also, an elector de- " prived of an electoral privilege." In another letter the Cardinal does not fail to refer to the judgment of God, the circumstance of the battle having been fought on the very spot where the rebellious usurper of the crown was first hailed by his Bohemian subjects. " We shall now see what " will become of this valiant invader of " a kingdom, with his specious counsellor, " Bouillon."

Such were the sentiments of a statesman profoundly skilled in the chicanery of the holy league, and who, more than any other individual, had contributed to the successful artifices of the French ambassadors at

Ulm; to whose machinations, Frederic owed the desertion of his German colleagues, and the virtual abandonment of his neighbour, ally, and gossip, Bethlem Gabor. It would, however, be unjust to attribute to that prince the pusillanimous duplicity which had disgraced the Protestant confederates. An enterprizing adventurer, with more activity than force, Bethlem, who had long fixed his affections on the Hungarian diadem, ventured not to provoke the vengeance of Ferdinand, purely to evince disinterested fidelity towards an ally whose ultimate success began to appear doubtful. Yielding, therefore, to policy as to necessity, he received the ambassadors with magnificence, amused them with a grand display of barbaric pomp, and, through the medium of the learned Turtzo, conversed with them familiarly on terms of friendship; and finding they were not to be overmatched in cunning, finally acquiesced in the conditions proposed, reserving to himself, however, the liberty to furnish Frederic with ten thou-

sand troops, and proposing, if fortune smiled, to invent some favourable pretext to break his faith with one prince, and to renew his pact with the other. His good-will to Frederic had never abated, and he heard of his fatal overthrow at Prague with a sorrow proportioned to the conviction, that by this event his own elevation to the throne of Hungary was deferred to an indefinite period. With his usual flexibility, however, recovering his spirits, he addressed to the States of Hungary a sort of spiritual exhortation to repentance, bidding them consider the late catastrophe as the chastisement of their transgressions, and, by deep humiliation, to appease divine vengeance. After this preamble he besought them to state with sincerity what steps they resolved to take, adding, that instead of cherishing sickly dejection, they ought to pray earnestly to God to convert their sorrow into joy, and, above all things, to avenge the blood already shed in the holy cause of the true religion. To Frederic, Bethlem addressed whatever con-

solation friendship or reason could suggest, intimating, "that the peace he had made "to-day might be broken to-morrow, and "that he only waited for a favourable mo- "ment to put himself in harness again."

In the meanwhile, Frederic and Elizabeth, not without infinite difficulty, had reached Breslau by unfrequented roads, at all times impracticable to a carriage, and which were now rendered more difficult by a heavy fall of snow, such as three days earlier might have saved their kingdom. During this dreary and perilous pilgrimage, Elizabeth, for the first time, experienced positive hardships, accompanied by circumstances peculiarly calculated to appal a woman's imagination. She sustained each trial with a fortitude and cheerfulness that endeared her to Frederic and the companions of their mutual misfortunes. Happily the habits of her early childhood had fitted her for exertions which, to a modern lady, might have been somewhat formidable. When

compelled to quit her coach, she placed herself on horseback behind a young British volunteer named Hopton, of good family, but whose proud boast it afterwards became, that he had once served and protected the Queen of Bohemia. Arrived at Breslau, Elizabeth lost no time in supplicating her father's active interposition in behalf of her husband; but as it was supposed that respect for the British monarch might induce Ferdinand to transfer to his grand-children the dominions from which Frederic himself, the rebellious Palsgrave, was to be excluded, the unfortunate queen explicitly declared that she would never divorce her interests from those of her husband, and, that if he perished, she would perish with him.

In the letter* which she addressed to James, she says, "The Baron d'Hona will "not fail to inform your Majesty of the "misfortune that has befallen us, and by

* This letter has appeared in the interesting work lately published by Mr. Ellis, of the British Museum.

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" which we have been compelled to leave
" Prague and come to this place, where God
" only knows how long we may be per-
" mitted to remain. I therefore most hum-
" bly beseech your Majesty to protect the
" king and myself, by sending us succour;
" otherwise we must be brought to utter
" ruin. It is from your Majesty alone, next
" to Almighty God, that we expect assist-
" ance. I most humbly thank your Ma-
" jesty for the favourable declaration you
" have been pleased to make respecting the
" preservation of the Palatinate. I earnestly
" entreat you to do as much for us here,
" and to send us good aid to resist our foes;
" otherwise I know not what will become
" of us. Let me, then, once more implore
" your Majesty to have compassion on us,
" and not to abandon the king, at the mo-
" ment when he most needs assistance. As
" to myself, I am resolved not to leave
" him, and, if he must perish, why I will
" perish also. But whatever may become

" of me, never, never shall I be other than
" your Majesty's
" Most humble, most obedient
" Daughter and servant,
" ELIZABETH."

With whatever expectations Frederic had entered Breslau, they were annihilated by the coldness of his reception, so different from the enthusiasm he had recently experienced. In conformity with the opinions of Bethlem, he had not originally admitted the necessity of relinquishing the kingdom, and accordingly wrote to Count Thurm to concentrate his forces in Lusatia; but he soon discovered that the submission of Prague *, under promises of amnesty and protection, had completely stifled every sentiment of national patriotism; and, such was the imbecility that discord and suspicion had produced in the Bohemian capital, that the same people who, but eighteen months be-

* The submission of Prague took place the day after Frederic quitted it.

fore, had taken up arms because the Emperor had violated a solemn covenant, now trusted to a simple promise, for future security, and unconditionally surrendered all for which they had hitherto contended.

Intimidated by the vicinity of the Saxon troops, the Lusatians, without a single effort, renounced the sovereign of their choice; whilst the states of Silesia eagerly purchased his departure by a supply of money, scarcely adequate to the exigencies of his present situation. Too late did Frederic deplore the loss of those bars of gold which he had left in Prague, and which might have sufficed to raise troops even among his dispirited subjects; but more bitterly did he deplore his inability to ensure Elizabeth that safety and repose which her precarious state required. On quitting Breslau, he prevailed on her to remove for a few days to Frankfort on the Oder, whilst he despatched a courier to Berlin, to his kinsman and brother-in-law, George William of Brandenburg, simply to entreat,

that he would allow her to sojourn during her approaching confinement in the castle of Custrin. * Accustomed to command, Frederic had now to learn lessons of humility, which he, perhaps, found less difficult to practise for the sake of his Elizabeth. At once discarding the language of the prince for that of a father and a husband, who trembled for the safety of the object most dear to his affections, he conjured the Marquis, by the ties of blood, by the dictates of humanity and religion, not to withhold from him this precious boon, which was such, he added, as no kinsman, nor even stranger, ever denied to an unhappy suppliant. Unluckily, this appeal was addressed to a man of mean understanding, of sordid temper, and brutal propensities: united to a woman of quick parts, but whose mind was somewhat narrowed by sectarian bigotry, he had been induced, by her persuasions, to renounce the Lutheran

* Theatre of Europe, vol. i. Geschichte der Marks Brandenburgs. Von Gallos.

tenets, in which, in common with his subjects, he had been educated. But to this victory over the prejudices of a man, alike destitute of discrimination or moral sensibility, her empire appears to have been limited. Her intercessions for an unfortunate brother were disregarded, as may be inferred from the manner in which her consort replied to Frederic, "That neither "Spandau nor Custrin would afford the pro-"tection required — that in the former the "queen might be exposed to intrusions from "the enemy, and that, in the latter, she would "be liable to the devastation of famine." He described the castle of Custrin as the seat of desolation; unfurnished, destitute of comforts or even necessaries, without tapestry, and, worst of all, without even a kitchen, or any apartment capable of being converted into one. "Imagine," he added, "with what horror your royal spouse will "behold those naked walls, and what dis-"content will be excited among her at-"tendants, when they shall find neither

"food nor fuel for man, nor fodder for "horse — no wine in the cellar — no corn "in the granary — nothing but misery and "starvation." * This picture was indeed disgusting; but Frederic, who well knew the meanness and cowardice that had given it this colouring, persisted in his importunity, imploring for a place of shelter, however poor and humble, in which to consign his suffering wife and helpless children. The Marquis still resisted; and, but for the intervention of Wotton, the British envoy, who was fortunately in Germany, and who, from motives of personal friendship to Elizabeth, interceded for her accommodation, the application would have been ultimately unsuccessful; and even the permission that John George finally accorded, was clogged with an ungracious stipulation, that the charge should be exclusively defrayed by the hosts; and, such was his horror of the expenses attendant on a royal christening, that he took especial care that the queen and

* Geschichte der Marks Brandenburgs. Von Gallos.

the royal household should find their lodgings utterly destitute of comfort and convenience.* At the castle of Custrin Elizabeth arrived on the 22d of December; and, on the 25th, gave birth to a son, afterwards named Maurice, just one year after his brother Rupert had been ushered into existence in the stately palace of Prague — how strikingly contrasted with the chilling apartments and dejected countenances presented in the castle of Custrin! These two princes, the one born in the zenith, the other in the nadir of his father's fortunes, were, in after-life, intimately associated in their pursuits, and remarkable for attachment to their mother, by whom they were both cherished

* "In three weeks there were twenty-one baskets "of oats consumed for the horses; forty barrels of "butter, twenty-two casks of table wine, a large "quantity of geese, poultry, eggs, rye, and wheat. "The complaints came with ill grace from a prince "who often bestowed a village on a sot or a buffoon, "and the annual expense of whose liveries amounted "to 50,000 dollars." Geschicte der Marks Brandenburgs. Vierter Bande. Le Vassor, Histoire de Louis Treize, vol. v.

with peculiar tenderness. The sojourn of Elizabeth at Custrin was necessarily abridged by the difficulty of procuring subsistence in that place, and, by the contrivance of George William, it was soon found necessary to transport the greater part of her household to Berlin. At the expiration of three weeks, having decided on retiring to Holland, she journied to Wolfenbuttle in Brunswick, where she was received with kindness by her maternal relatives.

Of her children, Rupert alone was permitted to be the companion of her journey. On leaving Custrin, she had allowed the infant Maurice to be removed to Berlin; he was afterwards consigned to the care of his grandmother, who was residing in Polish Prussia. It was a trait of generosity in Juliana, that she never became estranged from Elizabeth, however opposed they had been in their opinions, and however, in one instance, she might deplore the influence which her daughter-in-law exercised over her son's conduct. There was

in each of these princesses no common share of firmness and dignity; and if the younger might have personified Hope, the elder was no less characterised by Resignation. With the generous spirit of her father, Juliana forgot her own misfortunes to administer consolation to her children, on whose minds she laboured to impress the conviction, that the late afflictive events were ordained by Providence for some great and salutary purpose, and, as such, to be received with no less gratitude than submission. To ambitious views she had ever been adverse, and perceived with satisfaction that the idea of reclaiming the Bohemian crown was extinguished in Frederic's breast, and that he aspired only to the recovery of his hereditary dominions; but as Juliana, though meek, was magnanimous, she relished as little as Elizabeth the temporizing policy adopted by her son, in soliciting the Elector of Saxony's mediation with the Emperor, in which he was well aware he had no chance of success. The

Emperor was inexorable. Nor did the earnest solicitation of the British monarch alter the resolution he had long since taken, of putting the rebellious Palsgrave to the ban, a sentence pronounced also against his auxiliaries, the Marquis of Jagerndorf and the Prince of Anhalt. Inheriting his mother's patience, without aspiring to her religious fervour, Frederic sympathized also in the ambitious sentiments of his wife, without emulating her energy and constancy. The same facility and vacillation which had contributed to the ruin, prevented the recovery of his affairs. In political conduct, even obstinacy appears to be less injurious than indecision. After having braved the Emperor's power, the extorted concessions of Frederic served but to invite contempt.*

Whilst Elizabeth lingered at Wolfenbuttle, Frederic is said to have revisited Heidelberg in disguise, from whence he recovered a small quantity of gold from the

* Le Vassor, Histoire de Louis Treize.

universal ruin. It is easy to conceive with what painful feelings he turned from the scene of his happy youth. Never, since the romantic days of the persecuted Rudolph, the brother of the Emperor Louis, had any Palatine Prince been equally unfortunate. The image of that ill-fated exile was often presented to Frederic's mind. Like him he had been proscribed — like him, too, had espoused an English princess, and saw himself supplanted by a remorseless kinsman. This idea seems to have dwelt on Frederic's imagination, and sufficiently accounts for the sadness that breathes in a letter, written to Elizabeth from Lubec; in which he says, "It already seems many "years since we parted." Soon after, he had an interview with the King of Denmark, the maternal uncle of Elizabeth, who, like James, had formerly refused him the title of king, but who now promised powerful assistance. At length Elizabeth and her ladies commenced their pilgrimage through Westphalia, attended by eighty cavaliers of

distinction, among whom Ensign Hopton had a distinguished place.

During this long, fatiguing march, so different from her triumphant bridal progress from Holland to Germany, the exiled queen preserved the cheerfulness and even the vivacity which had always formed her chief attraction. The cavaliers who formed her escort admired the equanimity with which she raised herself above the frowns of fortune; and to whatever place she entered, by whatever people welcomed, she so irresistibly engaged the affections, that it soon became a popular saying, that Elizabeth, in default of other subjects, was the Queen of Hearts. * At Munster she was joined by six companies sent by the Prince of Orange, under whose escort she proceeded to Emeric, where she once more beheld her son Henry, under the maternal protection of her excellent kinswoman the Countess Ernest of Nassau. Delighted with this recognition,

* Howell's Letters.

Elizabeth, as she embarked in the prince's yacht for Rotterdam, was ready to exclaim, "This hour repays me for the past;" and so sprightly and animated was her deportment, that it might have been supposed she had rather discarded a crown than lost a kingdom.

Far different was the demeanour of Frederic, who had joined his consort at the Weser *, but who, though patient and resigned, could not so easily reconcile himself to the humiliation of revisiting as a suppliant the same place through which he had before passed in triumph. To the ladies of Elizabeth's court the fatigues were probably more than compensated by the pleasure of returning to a country in which they should be restored to the tastes and habits of English society. As they approached the province of Utrecht, the superior intelligence and civilization of an enlightened people became perceptible, and the royal fugitives

* Bromley's Royal Letters.

were perpetually saluted with acclamations of esteem, of sympathy, and of ardent congratulation. Elizabeth was not here approached as she had been by the Bohemian peasantry, with the homage rendered to a pagan divinity; it was no longer the gaze of curiosity that she attracted from an idle populace, but looks and gestures expressive of cordial sympathy and respect. The matrons now beheld her with reverence, as having ennobled their sex by her magnanimity; the men with enthusiasm, for having proclaimed to her father and the world that her husband was endeared to her by his misfortunes.* From the youthful of either sex she drew prayers and benedictions, by her sweetness, her affability, and the recollection of her recent dangers.

In the neighbourhood of the Hague they were met by Prince Maurice, accompanied by all the nobles and other dignified personages, in a long procession of coaches, in

* See Rushworth's Collections.

which were comprised all the nobility of the country, followed by another line of carriages, in which rode the foreign ambassadors, not one of whom withheld from the royal fugitives the honours due to a crowned head. But it was from the Calvinist ministers and the partizans of the contra-remonstrants that they received the most ardent professions of attachment; and some of these, especially the friends of Scultetus, persisted in declaring that the Winter King should yet vanquish the victor, and re-ascend the throne of Bohemia in triumph. Not even in the moment of defeat was the harp of prophecy hung up in silence. During this and many succeeding years there was a series of predictions composed, of which Frederic and his future victories formed the grand subject. To these fantastic dreams the Puritans in England and the Calvinists of Holland responded with equal zeal, though in more sober strains. Each evangelical sect in Germany had its professed soothsayers, and there were many

who raved of the Millenium and the downfal of Popery; whilst even the more temperate preachers in Protestant France confidently foretold the approaching disgrace of Anti-christ.

On reaching the Hague, Frederic and Elizabeth were once more lodged in the castle, where they occupied Prince Henry's apartments; and Maurice, with that quick sense of propriety which in some instances supplies the place of moral feeling, endeavoured, by his reception, to persuade the royal fugitives that in attacking tyranny and oppression, they had, in reality, established the supremacy of just principles. In this sentiment he was not merely upheld by the States-General, but confirmed by all classes of the commonwealth. The spirit of party, though not subdued, was allayed by the influence of humanity and magnanimity; and the misguided multitude that had so lately combined in the destruction of Barnevelt, offered some atonement for the outrage by their generous and faithful protection of the

King and Queen of Bohemia, who, however unequal in moral or intellectual greatness to that enlightened patriot, had suffered in the cause of freedom. From the moment of his arrival in Holland, the States allowed Frederic ten thousand florins per month for the maintenance of his family; an honourable proof of the liberal feeling and good faith which prevailed in the republic.

In Holland Elizabeth found her chagrins alleviated by a personal or epistolary intercourse with her British friends, of whom many visited the Hague purposely to pay their respects to their beloved princess; and not a few statesmen and scholars* maintained with her an animated correspondence. In the society of the Hague

* Among these, the principal were Wotton and Rowe. The former, a wise and wary statesman, evinced the delicacy of his friendship for the Queen of Bohemia by declining to accept a jewel presented on the part of the Emperor Ferdinand, saying, "He could "not accept a favour from a prince who had inflicted "such wrongs on his royal mistress."

she found a pleasing relief from the semi-barbarous monotony of her Bohemian subjects; nor did the frankness of her happy nature revolt from that rational tone of freedom and courtesy, equally removed from adulation and rudeness, which here reigned in the most polished circles. As she had ascended a throne without arrogance, she adopted the style of republican simplicity, without meanness, or a painful consciousness of degradation *; but it was otherwise with Frederic, to whose hereditary prejudices the independent spirit of Holland was absolutely intolerable. From infancy accustomed to that deference ever rendered to an absolute sovereign, he could little relish the urbanity even of the higher classes. From the bluntness, or what seemed to him the insolence, of the commercial and agricultural orders, he recoiled with abhorrence. Shortly after his arrival he was interrupted in his favourite pastime of hunting, by a

* See Du Maurier's Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire.

boor, who, armed with a pitchfork, and followed by a clown in like manner guarded, suddenly issued from his house, to rebuke him for having suffered his dogs to commit a trespass on one of his fields. "King of "Bohemia, why do you spoil my oats, that "it has cost me so much toil to sow? Go "hence, king, go hence." Although the reprimand might be merited, Frederic could ill brook the familiar tone of equality which it implied; yet with the courtesy that never forsook him, he bowed and withdrew as promptly as the boor had required. Each day produced new causes of annoyance. Whilst the States furnished maintenance for his household, the laughter-loving populace amused themselves with ludicrous representations of the poverty of the royal beggars. At these numerous caricatures Elizabeth could smile *, whilst Frederic groaned in silence. "Heaven preserve me "from the population of a great city," said

* See her letters to Rowe.

he; "above all, from the *canaille* of the "Hague." *

To these petty sources of discontent was soon added a keener and more generous feeling of regret. The Bohemians who had tamely submitted to Ferdinand's mercy, were allowed during some months to remain unmolested, and the Lutherans began to flatter themselves that the despotic chief of the Holy League, alike bigotted and vindictive, would be satisfied with obliterating all traces of the late revolution; and seeing the Jesuits restored, without injury to the Evangelists, or offence to the Lutherans, a gracious pardon was accorded to the elder Prince of Anhalt and Count Hohenloe, rather, as was supposed, to reward their treachery to Frederic than to purchase their services to Ferdinand. A promise of amnesty was also given to all concerned in the late transactions, excepting only the authors of the revolution, or those who had actively partici-

* Bromley's Letters.

pated in its movements. Of these some had emigrated, many died in battle; whilst others, lulled into security, ventured to remain in their native country. But this confidence was suddenly destroyed by a proclamation denouncing the original authors of the late rebellion, by which name the noble effort of Count Thurm and the directors was now vilified by their triumphant conquerors. The vigilance of spies was successfully exerted in dragging from their retreat the objects of imperial vengeance; and lest some latent spark of patriotism should be thus rekindled in the people, the Elector of Saxony, who, since the departure of Maximilian, had maintained the emperor's authority in the neighbouring provinces, detached several companies of soldiers, avowedly to preserve the blessings of peace and order to the good citizens of Prague. In the same day several hundred individuals were committed to prison, and to these were added three of the late directors, on whom Ferdinand most desired to wreak vengeance:

but of all these victims of insolent tyranny the most regretted were the aged Baron Michaelovitz and the accomplished Count Andreas Schlick.

Of the latter nobleman, it may be recollected, that he had been associated with Baron Rupa, in the deputation to Egra. In the battle of Prague, these two nobles were again companions in danger, but with far different destinies: Rupa was one of the fugitives admitted by Frederic at the tower of Strahoff, and, though finally proscribed, commuted death for banishment — whilst Schlick, after having performed prodigies of valour, was compelled to surrender his sword, but had the good fortune to recover his liberty, and, either relying on the promised amnesty, or disdaining to flee from his native country, retired to his own castle, a few miles from Egra, where, trusting to the valour and fidelity of his vassals, by whom he was adored, he remained with his countess, a woman worthy of his choice, and whose elegant mind, even in the wane of

her charms, rendered her more interesting than almost any other Bohemian lady.* In this retreat was Andreas discovered, by a troop of Saxon marauders, who surprised him when he was hunting in his own paternal woods, and bore him in triumph to Prague, where he was several weeks incarcerated in the lower tower, without seeing his wife, or any of his most intimate friends. At length, the roll of victims being completed, Schlick was cited before a tribunal, composed of Austrian and Bohemian judges, at which presided the imperial viceroy, Prince Lichtenstein; and, so summary were its proceedings, that, in eight and forty hours, three hundred citizens, twenty-three nobles, senators, and knights, were tried, convicted, and condemned. By a retrospective law, sanguinary punishments were awarded to several hundred citizens, and the minor criminals pursued with heavy fines or confiscations. Of all who appeared

* Le Mercure Francois for 1621. Theatre of Europe. Schmidt.

before this court, none affected contrition, or stooped to supplication; each asserted the righteousness of his cause, and repelled with indignation the charge of rebellion. It was remarked, that none but middle-aged, or even elderly men, were to be found among these patriots, who had devoted their lives and fortunes to the redemption of their country; forgetting that, where vassalage was universally established, there could be no true guarantee of civil or political freedom. The demeanour of Count Schlick was such as impressed even the Austrian viceroy with respect. "I admit," said he, in his defence, "that I have borne arms against Ferdinand, "to whom I had never sworn allegiance, and "whom I considered an usurper. It is true "that I encouraged the States to maintain "their ancient laws and privileges; and, "if this be culpable, I here aver that I "glory in my shame; if to resist tyranny be "rebellious, I aspire but to the honour of "rebellion." On being subjected to a rigorous examination, he exclaimed, with

generous indignation, "Tear this body of "mine into ten thousand pieces, probe each "vein and corner of my heart, and you "shall not find a single sentiment but what "my right hand hath subscribed to and "vindicated.* The love of liberty, of God's "religion, and my country, prompted that "hand to wield the sword; and, since it "has pleased the Supreme Being to trans- "fer success to the Emperor, and deliver "us into your hands, I can only say, with "submission, love, and reverence, 'The "'will of God be done.'" †

The other prisoners echoed these sentiments; and they unanimously protested, that the justice of a national revolt rested not on the events of secondary causes. — With equal intrepidity did each culprit await his formal condemnation. When it was announced to Schlick, that his body should be torn to pieces by wild horses, and his limbs hung up in various places,

* History of the Persecutions in Bohemia.
† Harte's Gustavus. Schmidt, vol. ix.

he replied but by an expressive look, and a classical illustration — "Facilis jactura "sepulcri." Even after that awful condemnation, it was generally believed that Ferdinand, during whose royal pleasure the execution of the sentence was suspended, who had hitherto disclaimed vindictive feelings, would reserve the state prisoners for mercy. In reality, policy concurred with humanity in suggesting that he should endeavour to attach the rebels whom his armies had subdued; and, in a moment of indecision, he submitted to his confessor, whether he might conscientiously spare the rebels of that church to which he had sworn to be faithful. Without hesitation, the confessor replied in the affirmative; and, by that signal proof of probity and wisdom eternized the shame of Ferdinand *, who, with gratuitous cruelty, transmitted to Prague his imperial mandate for the execution of the sentence. Although the prisoners had long been prepared for

* Harte. Le Vassor.

death, they were not able to interdict the petitions of kindred and friends. The amiable wife of Andreas Schlick had been unremitting in her solicitations, which served only to obtain a mitigation of her husband's sentence, and the final restoration of his lacerated body. During his confinement, no interview had been permitted; and, until the 20th of June, when he was conveyed from the prison to the place of execution, she had never been blest with one glimpse of his countenance. At four in the morning, the prisoners were put into covered carts*, which, in slow and mournful procession, proceeded from the old town to an area in front of the council-house.† On this spot was erected a platform, covered with cloth, at one end of which sat, under

* In the contemporary print in Kevenhuller's Annals, these covered carts are lumbering vehicles, drawn by six mules, three and three, with two postilions. The houses are mostly gable-roofed, with narrow casements. The men all wear long cloaks and broad hats.

† In this square was usually kept the fish-market.

his royal canopy, Prince Lichtenstein, as the Emperor's representative, a circumstance strikingly characteristic of barbarous manners. An immense crowd of people had collected, of whom the greater part seemed to have no better feeling than mere curiosity, or that passion for excitement, by which even savages are actuated.

With their friends, the prisoners were not permitted to enjoy any personal communication. Even Schlick was denied the privilege of bidding his wife farewell; and if she exchanged with him a momentary glance, it was from the window of a house that overlooked the fatal scaffold. The execution was deferred till the clock struck five; a few moments only were wanting to that time; when, suddenly, the attention of the spectators was attracted by a double rainbow, which, like a crescent, beautifully invested the hemisphere. From some vestige of old traditionary superstition, this meteoric portent was equally hailed by Catholics and

Protestants, the prisoners and their oppressors, as a favourable omen; the one proclaiming that it indicated the approbation of heaven, the other that it presaged an approaching hour of retribution. In this sentiment the prisoners coincided; and the confidence afforded by that conviction irradiated the eyes and spoke in the triumphant mien of each devoted victim. The first who appeared was Count Schlick, dressed in the style of Elizabeth's court, in a green silk frock, his hair plain, and in his left hand a prayer-book, his countenance serene and resigned; but, when his chains were removed, he breathed a heavy sigh for the thraldom imposed on his unhappy country. In undressing, he was assisted by his own servants, who were, in this instance, more favoured than his wife, to whom he sent a silk handkerchief, in token of his faithful love. He then knelt down, and having prayed with fervent devotion, laid his head on the block, stretched out his right hand, and thus challenged the stroke of the ex-

ecutioner, which in a moment consummated his fate.*

After him followed several nobles, knights, and senators; and among these the aged Michaelovitz, who, with noble intrepidity, claimed precedency of his younger compeers, observing, that age entitled him to pre-eminence. Among these numerous victims, the most unfortunate was Dr. Jessinius, an astrological preacher, who, having long before announced the deposition of Ferdinand, was condemned to an atrocious punishment, worthy of the inhuman bigots by whom it was inflicted. The execution was soon consummated. Within two hours, the carts were driven through the streets, in which the citizens, as usual, pursued their ordinary avocations. Of the women, many retired to mourn and weep. No discontent was manifested: terror had produced its usual effect, in rendering all selfishly passive. The wisdom, virtue, and

* The Countess Schlick survived not her husband many weeks.

talent of Bohemia seemed extinct. Count Thurm had fled to Transylvania: of the Hussites, some had escaped to Moravia, or, by abject submission, reconciled themselves to the new administration. In vain had such heroes as Andreas, such patriots as Michaelovitz, lived and died for a partially enlightened, jealous, and voluptuous people. That regenerated nation, into which Thurm and his compatriots had so lately breathed a feeling soul, seemed no longer capable of one generous impulse, one energetic movement. The Lutherans, who, with the littleness of party spirit, had connived at, or even exulted in, the debasement of the Calvinists, too late discovered their error, when they saw themselves in their turn visited with penalties and persecution.*

* The unfortunate termination of the Bohemian war has been unjustly ascribed to Frederic, who was deceived and injured by all parties. By Schiller he is blamed for cultivating an alliance with Bethlem Gabor; but he had no other resource than to weaken that enemy he durst not openly oppose. To the charge of joining with the Porte he might have pleaded not

guilty. Misfortune was his crime — success would have silenced censure.

In a work full of historical information, entitled "Calvinism and Arminianism," by Mr Nichols, a very striking elucidation is offered on this subject. In a quotation from a work of Barlaeus, printed in 1620, we have the following passage:—"Mahomet, the Turk-
"ish Emperor, is said to have derived from the chris-
"tians a knowledge of the modes in which persecutions
"were conducted; and the cruelty which the latter ex-
"ercised against the Reformed, has been returned by
"the latter in various places against the Catholics. —
"The Calvinistic ministers have been lately expelled
"from the country of the Grisons; from whence they
"had, only a few years before, expelled the Papists:
"and the same body of men are now destitute of
"churches themselves in Aix-la-Chapelle, although
"it is not long since they were filled with envy at the
"Jesuits possessing their own churches in that city.
"In Bohemia and its confederate States, the Catholic
"places of worship have been seized; but now, such
"is the change which God effects in human affairs,
"they are forcibly wrested from their recent posses-
"sors, and again restored to their former occupants.
"At the first seizure the Jesuits were compelled to
"become exiles; and now, at the second seizure, the
"Calvinistic divines are banished from the same coun-
"try. Most wonderful are the judgments of God,
"who, by the secret movements of his Providence,
"thus checks and represses the too lofty aspirings and
"insolent ambition of those who assume to themselves
"the title of *the Reformed Churches*; and this he

" does, lest they should cease to be *Christians*, while " they covet for themselves the sceptres of princes, " and endeavour, by the basest arts, to extend the " boundaries of their confined dominions. Those fo- " reign divines who were present at the synod of " Dort, and who contributed their share of advice and " labour towards the oppression of the Remonstrants, " had themselves scarcely returned to their several " habitations before they were overtaken by Divine " justice, which is the avenger of insolence and pride. " The divines of the Palatinate are banished from their " country, and, among the rest, that leader of the sy- " nodical band, that slave in the ecclesiastical farce, " Abraham Schultetus. The divines from the Corres- " pondence of Wetteraw are afflicted; those of Hesse " are in mourning; the Swiss divines tremble; and the " divine of Charenton (Peter du Moulin), who in his " recent *Anatomy* poured forth the torrents of his rage " against the banished Remonstrants, is himself com- " pelled to consult the safety of his own life in flight. " God forbid, that the public enemies of our country " should hereafter repay, in equal measure, to the " Contra-Remonstrants, the same injurious treatment " which the Remonstrants have experienced from " those domestic foes, and which they continue daily " to experience!"

In a French letter, which the imprisoned Remonstrant minister Charles de Nielles addressed, in 1627, to Uitenbogard, he pursues the same train of reflections: " I likewise understand by report, that those " Calvinists who had deputed their divines to the Sy- " nod of Dort, have been themselves banished out of

" the Correspondences of Nassau and of Wetteraw.
" They have all been compelled to become exiles, as
" have also those of Hesse, with the exception of such
" of them as are willing to abjure Calvinism, and to
" embrace Popery or Lutheranism. I deplore the ca-
" lamity in which a great number of upright men are
" involved; but the truth is, these people, after hav-
" ing enjoyed for many years the peaceable exercise
" of their religion under the protection of the Augs-
" burgh Confession, conducted themselves so outrage-
" ously against us at the Synod of Dort, as to have
" afforded to the Lutherans just cause for dreading
" their higher advancement in Germany. They came
" to Dort for the purpose of lending their aid to per-
" secute us; and they condemned, in our persons at
" that synod, the Augsburgh Confession, which they
" had promised, under the sanctity of an oath, to
" maintain. And these very persons are now expelled
" from their native country, as we have been. I am
" afraid that those of Bremen and Embden (who like-
" likewise had deputies at Dort) will have reason to
" be apprehensive that this calamity will extend itself
" as far as to them, if the Emperor can possibly ac-
" complish his designs. But it is likewise my belief
" that in the end the Emperor will attempt to banish
" the Lutherans as well as the rest; this he has already
" done in Austria and Bohemia. The Jesuits will in-
" cite him, not to allow the exercise of any other reli-
" gion than that of Popery, as the Calvinists do in
" every country in which the sovereigns will follow
" the advice of their ecclesiastics; this we may behold
" in England, Scotland, and in all other States in

" which the magistrates have manifested a willingness " to believe that they ought not to suffer any religion " except Calvinism. In this manner do they (the " Papists and Calvinists) endeavour to expel each " other, and contend which of them may be permitted " to have dominion over consciences." — These prognostications concerning the Lutherans were soon afterwards verified: for in the marquisate of Brandenburgh, where the Lutherans had formerly been turned out of their churches by the Calvinists, the latter were expelled, and the former re-instated in their previous possessions. But it was not long before the Emperor Ferdinand II., elated with his victories, and instigated by the Pope and Jesuits, turned his arms against the Lutherans.

CHAPTER XI.

OPPRESSION OF THE PROTESTANTS.—REVIVAL OF FREDERIC'S PARTY.—THE CAMPAIGN OF 1622.—FREDERIC'S DEPARTURE FROM THE HAGUE.—SECRET JOURNEY THROUGH FRANCE TO ALSACE.—RECEPTION IN MANSFELT'S CAMP.—CHRISTIAN OF BRUNSWICK.—ABORTIVE TREATIES OF JAMES THE FIRST.—MARGRAVE OF BADEN DOURLACH.—FREDERIC'S DISMISSAL OF HIS GENERALS.—RETREAT TO SEDAN.—MANSFELT'S INTERVIEW WITH THE DUKE DE BOUILLON.—ELIZABETH'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH ROWE.—TRANSLATION OF THE PALATINATE TO THE DUKE OF BAVARIA IN 1623.

THAT the brave escape the perils which await the pusillanimous, is a truth that history rarely fails to illustrate; but never was this principle more strikingly exemplified than in the conduct of the German Union.

ists. By deserting the cause of Frederic in 1620, they had given Ferdinand an opportunity not only to ruin the Elector whom they had betrayed, but to invade their own privileges, to subvert the religious liberties of Germany, and virtually, at least, to attack the vital principle of Protestantism in Europe. No sooner was his power confirmed, than the vindictive spirit of the tyrant broke forth, and, disclaiming whatever moderation he had previously affected, he cancelled the letters of majesty which the Bohemians had been too unwise to defend, commenced a series of sanguinary persecutions against the Hussites, and openly impeached the legitimacy of the Union, over whose sordid leaders he had lately triumphed.

Roused from their lethargy, the princes began to arm, under pretence of guarding their own territories. An impulse of despair dispelled the torpor that had last year locked up their faculties, and, without any regular plan, they simultaneously prepared for hostilities; whilst Christian of Denmark,

the uncle of Elizabeth, a monarch of whom history and tradition have transmitted no other honourable record, cordially espoused his kinsman's cause, and furnished six thousand men, specifically for the recovery of the Palatinate. But the best friends, after Prince Maurice and the States, that Frederic possessed were three individuals, directly opposed in character and condition: a great captain, without one rood of land; a chivalrous prince, whose sword was his only patrimony; a banished patriot, whose property had been the sacrifice of his principles. Of these the first, and by far the most efficient, was Peter Ernest, Count Mansfelt. Descended from a royal house, although the offspring of an unequal, and consequently unacknowledged marriage, he had been invested by the late Emperor with the title and dignity of a prince of the Roman empire. Reared in the bosom of the Catholic church, which he had renounced, he had hitherto fought alternately on either side, and, like a skilful

advocate, enlisted success to either party; but, to the credit of his military principles, he piqued himself on fulfilling his engagements. Of his military prowess no more triumphant proof can be recorded, than that he was successively opposed to the Cordovas, the Spinolas, the Tillys, the Wallensteins, whom he boldly confronted, and against whom he singly maintained his pre-eminence. Nor was his political sagacity inferior to his military skill, since sovereign princes and formidable potentates were competitors for his choice, and eagerly sought to attach him to their service. In his reputation alone he commanded wealth, power, and dominion; his name inspired confidence; an army was raised as by magic at the sound of Mansfelt's trumpet; and his fertile genius was no less prompt in discovering resources for its subsistence. To collect a military force was indeed not difficult in Germany, the vagrant habits of whose robust peasants conspired with their cupidity to create a passion for war; even

the women, with the boldness and simplicity of the ancient Germans, followed the camp, as ready to share the perils as to divide the spoils. It was in organizing this multitude of boors, mechanics, and robbers, that the real superiority of Mansfelt's intelligence was demonstrated. Participating with his martial compeers in that obtuseness of feeling which, in defiance of religion, belongs to a certain state of civilization, he never scrupled to violate private property for the subsistence of his troops, and even piqued himself on having reduced to a regular system, his exactions on every state, town, or district that he entered, on the colourable plea, that it was far better for the inhabitants to submit to his requisition, than be subjected to the violence of the soldiers, for which indemnification was thus to be purchased.* With that arrogance inherent to military despotism, he cared little for

* This practice was afterwards carried to a frightful excess by Wallenstein. See Schmidt, History of the Germans, vol. viii.

the civil or religious liberties of mankind. Yet, though charged with vacillation, he appears to have been rather subtle than unfaithful. Towards Frederic he acted with generosity and sincerity; and though commonly compared with Ulysses, might, in this instance, have been identified with Patroclus. After the battle of Prague he strenuously upheld in Pilsen the authority of the King of Bohemia against the edicts of Ferdinand and the forces of Maximilian. Compelled to abandon that place, he led his shattered troops to the Upper Palatinate, by turns employing force and fraud with the Duke of Bavaria; to elude whose vigilance, he affected to be disposed to enter the service of the Emperor, by whom he had been twice proscribed *; and, finally, offered, for a certain sum of money, to evacuate the province. Delighted with this proposal, the Duke advanced payment, but Mansfelt contrived to protract the negocia-

* At this moment a price was set on his head.

tion until the arrival of Earl Digby, with an an order from the Emperor, guaranteeing an armistice, rendered the agreement nugatory. As a man of probity, Mansfelt should have refunded the money received, but, as a soldier of fortune, he appropriated it without scruple to his troops; and, exulting in the success of his stratagem, hastened towards the Lower Palatinate, where he again proclaimed his resolution to adhere to his engagements with the King of Bohemia. The truce having expired, an attack was made on Frankenthal, the dower of Elizabeth, but by the heroic resistance of the English commander, Horace Vere, it was redeemed from destruction. Mansfelt continued to ravage the neighbouring provinces; and in the north of Germany soon appeared another champion in Christian of Brunswick, commonly called the Administrator of Halberstadt, bearing on his ensign the characteristic motto of "God's friend, "the foe to priesthood." Allied to Elizabeth by the ties of blood, this young prince

participated fully in her chivalrous sentiments, and panted for an opportunity of signalizing his valour and eternizing his memory. Descended from the ancient princes of Brunswick, whose territories had been circumscribed by the house of Hapsburgh, he hated Ferdinand even more than he despised bishops and priests, for whom his antipathy was proclaimed by the letters emblazoned on his standard. Hitherto the sentiments he cherished against the Austrian dynasty had rankled in his own breast; neither his elder brother, who reigned in Zell, nor even his mother, the sister of the King of Denmark, concurred in his views of vengeance; but the proscription of Frederic superadded reasons of policy to the angry passions so long repressed. With no other possession than the revenues derived from the secularized bishopric of Halberstadt, which episcopal title he disdained not to assume, he had some reason to fear that the triumphs of Ferdinand would ultimately lead to the resumption of ecclesiastical property from

the Protestants. With this conviction, if not this argument, he raised the standard of defiance to priests and altars, and marched with a few Danish troops into Westphalia, where he lived at free quarters, plundering churches and monasteries; deaf to the entreaties of his brother, the reigning Duke of Brunswick, and the expostulations of the Landgrave of Hesse, to whose subjects, though of his own religious persuasion, he caused much annoyance. His valour attracted admiration, but the violence of his temper had given a ferocious expression to his features; and such was the vehemence of his gestures, and such the unbridled transports of his passion, that he acquired the appellation of the frantic Duke, or Christian Furioso. But necessity imposes trammels on the most ungovernable natures, and Halberstadt condescended to coalesce with, and even to practise subordination to Mansfelt, a man his inferior in birth, for whose character he felt no esteem, and whose tortuous policy he held in contempt.

The third coadjutor of Frederic, and the one most sincerely devoted to his interests and to the principles of patriotism, was Count Thurm, who, separated from his country, his friends, and all that endears to man the wane of life, undertook a perilous journey, by Venice and Dalmatia, to the Porte, purposely to effect the restoration of the sovereign he had chosen. To this triple confederacy was soon added another auxiliary, in the Margrave of Baden Dourlach, who, having armed his vassals, ostensibly to defend his own dominions, suddenly united himself to Mansfelt's army; not, however, without having previously ceded his state to his eldest son; a measure of precaution, to avert from his heirs the consequences of that unsparing imperial proscription which had visited Frederic and the Palatine house.

At this juncture there can be little doubt but that a powerful British force would have silenced the pretensions of the Bavarian to the Palatinate; but the infatuated James continued to repel all spirited counsels, nor

could the most strenuous of Elizabeth's advocates induce him to embrace the part that became a Protestant sovereign. Exclusive of German auxiliaries, Elizabeth derived many advantages from the friendship of three distinguished diplomatists, Sir Henry Wotton, Sir Dudley Carleton, and Sir Thomas Rowe.*

* The crooked policy of James is demonstrated in the following letter of Sir Thomas Rowe to the Queen of Bohemia: —

"20*th March*, 1622.

"INTO what hopes and feares the treaties for your "Majestie hath putt me, and the long expectance of "some good news, my last, of the 25th January, have, "I hope, informed you. What might have been done "from hence I am loath to mention, seeing no use "hath bene made of it; and now, having received "your Majestie's letter of December, I am equally "amazed with wonder and griefe. All that I can doe "is to pray to that merciful God, who will doe more "for your Majestie, when you are at the lowest, than "the arm of man is able to doe: then is his time to "shew himselfe a God, and to reject Gideon's 30,000, "and with three hundred to effect his own counsailes. "I have, under this belief, an assured confidence in "his Majestie, both as a father and the wisest of kings.

'The two former derived from their birth that consideration in society which, in the

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" I am persuaded he gives place to the tymes, not to " the cause. There is somewhat for him to doe, which " we inferior creatures shall enjoy and admire, though " we are not worthy to foreknow the counsell.

" Most excellent lady, be your owne queene; ba- " nish despaires and feares: be assured, the cause in " which you suffer cannot perish; if God had not " planted it, it had long since been rooted out. Vouch- " safe to remember the motto of our last eternally glo- " rious Elizabeth, 'This is done of the Lord, and it is " wonderful in our eyes.' So shall the day of your " retorne be to those honors, which you, above all " princes, merit.

" I have heard of the success of the treaties, though " very late; and yet I heare those hopes are renewed. " I have no further liberty, though I have written " largely, if not too boldly, of all the advantages might " be made from hence.

" The Count of Torne is yet here, as weary as of a " galie. I shall not need to write you the success of " the negotiations of the ministers of the Prince of " Transilvania, seeing from him your Majestie will " have most particular information; and there bee " some things unfit for me to know: as there is an " over busy knowledge, so there is a discreet igno- " rance. Thus much only as publique, if it may be " any comfort to you, I will not omit that Bethlem

latter, was acquired by desert. Originally destined for the navy, he had been distinguished by Prince Henry, and, for that circumstance alone, would have been endeared to Elizabeth. During his embassy to the Porte, he exerted himself strenuously in her behalf, but was always fatally counteracted by the British cabinet. With Carleton, who was resident at the Hague, she cultivated a cordial friendship; and, probably from her correspondence with Wotton, was acquainted with all the fluctuations of her father's councils. Convinced, at length, that the wrongs of Frederic were only to be redressed by the sword, she concurred with

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" Gabor will not leave his pretence, and your Majes-
" tie's enemies, to enjoy their tryumph. He pretends
" this only to doe you service, otherwise he might live
" in peace. He hath procured some aid not to make
" a breach with Vienna, but under colour of assisting
" Hungary, as in league with the Port, to repay them
" in their own metal. The Count of Torne is resolved
" to run the fortune of this war. I dare say no more;
" but if his Majestie would not be offended, much
" more might be done."

Prince Maurice in advising that he should once more try the fortune of war.

The year 1622 was ushered in by calamities. The banks of the Rhine were overflowed; numbers of women and children perished; famine and disease conspired with war to desolate the country. Whilst the Bavarian host occupied the Upper Palatinate, Mansfeldt and Tilly divided the Lower. In Austria, however, all was festivity and joy, in honour of the Emperor's nuptials with the beautiful Eleanor Gonzaga, by whose angelic goodness he found himself recompensed for former mortifications. In Hungary, too, all was tranquil. Bethlem Gabor *, neglected by Frederic's

* I perceive there is yet some thought left that Bethlem Gabor hath made his peace with the emperour, only to get time, untill he might have succours from this state; which, as I doe not believe, but that he hath done it hartily for his aduantage: and I am sure, the viziers here are of the same opinion, soe now, I am confident, he will not bee so charitable, as to retorne to them in their trouble and disability to help him: and I am, and ever have bene perswaded, that he only doth his owne business on both sides, without

friends, had reconciled himself to Ferdinand; who, thus guaranteed from invasion, might have reposed from all his cares, but for an unwelcome rumour, that the King of Bohemia had arrived in the rebel camp. The intelligence, though premature, created a sensation from which Mansfeldt drew a happy presage; and he wrote to Frederic in the most pressing terms to hasten his departure. Having forced himself from Elizabeth, not without painful apprehensions, Frederic privately embarked in March from Rotterdam, with no other companions than a Bohemian noble and a merchant of Strasburg, landed at Calais, and from thence proceeded, *incognito*, to Paris, where, unnoticed as unknown, he had the curiosity to go to the Louvre, to see the king dine in public with the royal family. The splendid but suspicious court of Louis XIII. had

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any zeale of other friendshipp. However, the State's ledger here thinks otherwise. — (Sir Thomas Roe's Letters, 1622.)

little attraction for the unfortunate King of Bohemia; yet in stealing a glance at his beautiful queen, Anne of Austria, he probably wondered at the strong expressions of discontent already imprinted on the king's countenance.

In the spring of youth, encircled with whatever belonged to power or prosperity, Louis might appear to have been an object of envy to the poor, proscribed, unfortunate Frederic. But, if felicity be measured by the gratification of the social sympathies, the despotic Louis was the most miserable of human beings. Distrustful of his wife; jealous of his brother; dreading and detesting the woman to whom he owed existence; deceived by his minions, tortured by his slaves; at once the victim of ambition and superstition, this royal tyrant lived in desolate greatness, like an outcast of nature, neither loving nor beloved, and generally execrated as a parricidal son, an imperious husband, an invidious brother. Far different was the fate of Frederic, who preserved,

under all the vicissitudes of fortune, his capacities for happiness and affection; cherished by the mother to whom he offered filial reverence, confiding in the wife whom he adored, he had lived with all his fraternal relatives in harmonious concord; and, though persecuted and proscribed, was regretted by his subjects, endeared to his friends, esteemed even by his enemies.

Having no inducements to linger in Paris, Frederic hastened his journey towards Lorrain. The charms of the city of Nancy, once so celebrated, attracted not his notice; and he was exclusively engrossed by the care of avoiding a discovery, which must have been fatal to his enterprise. When he arrived at Bitch, it was his fortune to fall in with a company of the Archduke Leopold's troops, who took him to their quarters, and, in addition to jovial cheer, entertained their guest with various ridiculous anecdotes of the *winter king*, who had run away from Prague, and was advertised at Vienna, as a youth fair and well-favoured, excepting

only a cast in one eye. They omitted not to season their narrative with stale jests, equally disparaging to his person, courage, and conduct. Tutored by adversity, Frederic listened to these sallies without emotion, joined in the merriment of his brutal hosts, and swallowed many a bumper at the expence of the fugitive Palsgrave. Happily Elizabeth's name was not profaned, or patience might have been exhausted; and, to prevent the repetition of such impertinence, he decamped at day-break, continued his journey to Loudun, and from thence transmitted a notification of his approach to Mansfeldt. His arrival was critical; for at that moment the wary chief was assailed by the emissaries of the infanta archduchess, who, to deprive the king of his service, invited him to that of Austria; offering, in the Emperor's name, to cede to him the territory of Hagenau, with the dignity of prince of the empire, the revenues forfeited by the house of Jagerndorf, the post of marshal of the armies of Flanders, and the sole

disposal of a thousand horse and four thousand infantry. Aware of the craft that lurked in these flattering proposals, Mansfeldt affected to listen with complacency to Isabella's agents, until he had an opportunity of announcing to them Frederic's approach; when they departed, with an expression of chagrin, that gave a zest to his satisfaction in receiving his *renovated* sovereign. The first hour that Frederic spent in Mansfeldt's camp amply compensated for the mortifications of his journey. He was greeted with enthusiasm by the soldiers, whilst their eloquent chief imparted a felicitous plan for the ensuing campaign, which almost restored his confidence. The first movement proposed was the liberation of Heidelberg; and, whilst the Marquis of Baden penetrated to Maximilian's hereditary dominions, the young Administrator of Halberstadt, emerging from Westphalia, was to co-operate in the enterprize.

The execution of this plan might have rendered Frederic independent of James

and Ferdinand; but he soon perceived that he was in thraldom to a mercenary chief, habituated to rapine and extortion, to whose standard none came but with the hopes of booty, and whose army depended for subsistence on plunder, which, however civilly exacted, was obtained by force. Upon the plea of expediency alone was Mansfeldt's system founded and vindicated; nor did he ever scruple to sacrifice equity and dignity to pressing exigencies, or a calculation of substantial interests. In the first instance, however, he deceived not Frederic's hopes. They crossed the Rhine together, defeated Tilly at Wistock, and invested the town of Ladenburg, now occupied by a Spanish garrison. It was impossible but that Frederic should recal the recollection of that brilliant spectacle of a mock battle, which had, eight years before, been exhibited on the same spot in honour of his espousals. To an indifferent spectator, half a century might seem to have elapsed from that period. The fields were broken into lines,

the Spanish cuirassiers took place of the contented boors. A refusal to surrender on the part of the commander, drew from Mansfeldt a menace of storming the town; a calamity which was, however, averted by a tardy capitulation. The entrance of Frederic was a triumph to mercenary soldiers, rather than to peaceful citizens, by whom new evils were anticipated; nor could he escape the painful conviction, that his subjects suffered equally from the friends and the enemies of their native sovereign. To heighten his chagrin, scarcely had he entered Heidelberg, when a disaster befel his best ally, which totally reversed the plan of the campaign. The Marquis of Baden Dourlach, who, as a sovereign prince, disdained to coalesce with a soldier of fortune, had separated * himself from Mansfeldt, and

* According to some accounts, this separation originated in jealousy of Mansfeldt. The official English despatch states, that the Marquis had separated in consequence of the difficulty of finding subsistence for both armies. All agree that the disaster was occasioned by his whimsical expedient of substituting a

entrenched advantageously at Wimpfen, where, being insulated from his allies, he was routed by the imperial generals Cordova and Tilly, who forced his lines, and destroyed his fine artillery, the Marquis himself having with difficulty escaped. Immediately after this occurrence, Mansfeldt, alarmed for the safety of Hagenau, in which he had deposited his pillage, flew to its relief, obtained a signal victory, redeemed his precious booty, and, utterly abandoning the original object of the campaign, commenced a series of profitable depredations on the principality of Hesse Darmstadt, the Land-

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barricado of waggons for an entrenchment. Sir Francis Nethersole writes, somewhat contemptuously, that all the mischief proceeded from an invention of the Marquis, by which waggons were substituted for palisadoes. The wood of the waggons taking fire, communicated to a quantity of gunpowder, of which the sudden explosion threw the army into the utmost consternation: defeat and havoc succeeded. The Marquis, before so strenuous, threw himself on Ferdinand's mercy, and, during some years, lived in passive obscurity.

grave himself being taken prisoner. It was with no enviable feelings that Frederic sanctioned, by his presence, the various acts of outrage which Mansfeldt's cupidity exacted. To these chagrins was soon added that of seeing his honourable friend, Christian of Brunswick, completely defeated by Tilly; and, by that sad necessity, constrained to unite his shattered troops to Mansfeldt's army. With undaunted courage, Christian persevered; though, like Mansfeldt, a soldier of fortune, he was not, like him, a mercenary adventurer. If he authorized pillage, it was to maintain his troops, not to enrich himself. Even his passions were not without dignity. He detested tyranny, he disdained dissimulation; and, if Mansfeldt was the Ulysses, Christian might be called the Achilles of Germany. The losses of Halberstadt might be repaired; the defection of the Margrave was to be supplied to Frederic by fresh partizans. But all these speculations were rendered abortive by his father-in-law, ever

destined to be his evil genius; by whose fiat the pen was wholly to supersede the sword, and the chances of war suspended for the chicanery of negociation. Unfortunately, the Imperial Junta of Brussels had an object to accomplish; for it was necessary to put in requisition the cullibility of the British monarch. It was not enough that Frederic should have witnessed in two months the dispersion of two gallant armies; the Emperor grudged him the possession of such a resource as the persevering Mansfeldt and undaunted Christian. By the sophistry of Gondomar, and the intervention of the archduchess, James was impressed with the belief, that if these two warriors were removed, the Emperor would be generously pleased to remit the punishment denounced on Frederic. The British ministers humoured this fantasy by recommending the truly novel policy of disarming, in order to obtain redress from an inveterate foe. The first impulse, both with Frederic and Elizabeth, was to reject such

abject counsels; but, on reflection, the proscribed prince conceived that his unhappy fate allowed no other alternative. Disgusted with Mansfeld, whose cupidity had alienated the hearts of his subjects, branded by the German princes, renounced by France, and virtually betrayed by England, he yielded to the impression of a fatal necessity, and formally dismissed Mansfeld and Halberstadt, by presenting the following attestation of their merits and his misfortunes:—

"Be it known to all, that the illustrious "princes, the captain-general of my forces, "and the general-lieutenant under him, "namely, the Count of Mansfeld, Prince "Christian Duke of Brunswick, and all the "colonels, lieutenant-colonels, captains, and "other officers of every denomination, at "present serving under them, have each, "singly and conjointly, to the utmost of "their power, rendered the Elector Pala"tine faithful service; but now, being "destitute of all human assistance, he per-

" ceives it impracticable to make farther
" use of them, except to their own great
" inconvenience and detriment: he, there-
" fore, with all due resignation of mind,
" alloweth them to solicit their dismission
" in the dutiful and respectful manner they
" have done; and like a friend, with all
" imaginable tenderness and humanity,
" not only absolves them from the oath
" they have taken to him, but permits
" them to consult their safety and interest,
" as far as may be possible, elsewhere. *

" (Signed) FREDERIC."

After this manifestation of submission to his father-in-law, Frederic, with considerable difficulty, effected his retreat to Sedan, instead of remaining, as James had suggested, within the walls of Heidelberg, where he must inevitably have fallen into the enemy's hands. By this proof of judgment and prudence, however, he displeased the

* See Harte's Gustavus.

king, and incurred the censures of his obsequious ministers, of whom some thwarted him in compliment to their master, others to evince their detestation of the Puritans,* and not a few because they were bribed by Spanish gold. In the British cabinet were many hypocrites, but probably no other dupe than the treaty-loving sovereign, whose abandonment of his daughter and of the Protestant interest was reprobated by all but the minions of tyranny, and openly derided in every country in Europe.

The submission of Frederic having removed every pretext for retarding negociations, his memorial was transmitted to the court of Brussels, where it was ungenerously objected, that he had assumed the style of an Elector of the Empire, a dignity forfeited by his criminal rebellion. Again did James prescribe unlimited concession; and once more did Frederic, though exasperated by his first provocation, yield implicit obedi-

* See the communications to Sir Thomas Roe, Letters and Negociations at the Porte.

ence. "Do not contest a single point," said the sagacious Duke de Bouillon; "by "degrees your father-in-law will discover "that they are mocking his credulity; let "us wait for the next objection." The prediction was soon verified. The second memorial was expedited, in which the obnoxious style of Elector was omitted; but, as the Duke de Bouillon had foreseen, a new pretext was devised for eluding the subject; the Emperor's ministers were not competent to treat of this affair at Brussels; the memorial and the British ambassador must be transferred to Ratisbon. The Duke de Bouillon was in transports of joy at this denouement, from which he anticipated the perfect disenchantment of the British monarch; but, to his unspeakable astonishment, that unrelenting persecutor of his son-in-law demanded that he should not quit Sedan, until something definitive were concluded? With what specific object this requisition was made has never transpired; and Frederic, naturally enough, suspected that it

augured some sinister intention to separate him from his beloved Elizabeth. To remain at Sedan was equally repugnant to his inclinations and his interests. Encumbered with cavalry, of which he could make no use, and of retainers, to whom he could offer no compensation, and whose losses cruelly aggravated his consciousness of ruin, his spirits sunk, and he at length murmured to Elizabeth, "Behold the issue of "this precious treaty of Brussels! just "tantamount to that of Rigby at Vienna. "The one lost us the Upper, the other "will despoil us of the Lower Palatinate. "God grant the king may at length open his "eyes to the truth! Doubt not, my best "beloved, but that I would fain be with you. "Would to heaven there were but one "little corner of this earth, where we might "dwell together in peace and content! I "should desire no better lot; but to live "at the Hague little suits my taste."

In this dejected state of mind, Frederic was ill-fitted for the society of the brilliant

Duke de Bouillon, who had first instilled into him those ambitious views, so fatal to his prosperity, and who could ill brook the disastrous issue of his nephew's elevation to the throne of Bohemia, an event on which he had founded strong hopes for the consolidation of the Reformed party in France, and for the extension of his own political influence. During forty years this prince had maintained in the French cabinet an ultra-ministerial ascendant, involuntarily yielded to his talents, connexions, and experience; above all, to the masterly skill with which he held the balance between intriguing rivals and hostile parties. Alternately ranged with the king and the malcontents, he either mediated or legislated between them. To Henry the Fourth he had been attached; to Mary de Medicis he rendered himself useful, and often indispensable; by Louis the Thirteenth * alone he found himself disregarded or rejected.

* Esprit de la Ligue.

Ambition was now, as ever, his ruling passion; nor was the resentment extinct which the late perfidious intrigue of the Duke de Luines with the Protestant princes had excited. Conceiving the perilous state of the Protestants to demand the adoption of strong coercive measures, at the moment that Frederic sought a temporary asylum in his domain, he had entered into a clandestine correspondence, of which the ultimate object was to unite, in one grand confederacy, the respective chiefs of the Reformers against the Holy League and the Catholic party. By his invitation Mansfeld and Christian of Brunswick marched the two armies*, so lately dismissed by Frederic (which consisted of nearly thirty thousand men), to the frontiers of France, avowedly to engage in some profitable military speculation. With no less dismay than astonishment was contemplated this itinerant host

* Le Vassor, Histoire de Louis Treize.

of mercenaries traversing different provinces, in the manner of the freebooters of the middle ages, or rather, to use the French phrase, like a wandering horde of Tartars. It was Mansfeld who had introduced the novelty of a standing army of mercenary troops, afterwards familiar to Europe; and, such was the fame of his military prowess, and such the confidence reposed in his prudence, that his services were at the same moment solicited by several potentates, each of whom sought to detach him from a jealous rival. Never had Mansfeld been so courted by the archduchess as now, when the King of France offered the allurement of a ducal domain and a marechal's staff; and when the Duke de Bouillon submitted to him a carte blanche, on condition that he should head the Calvinists. *

Although the last proposition was precisely that which Mansfeld least relished, he consented to an interview with the great

* Le Vassor.

Protestant politician, which produced no other result than to inspire in those extraordinary men, mutual and unbounded admiration for each other. It was at a village within two leagues of Sedan, that the desired interview took place between the two chiefs. Each arrived in a state coach, Mansfeld escorted by a thousand horsemen, the Duke by two hundred cavaliers. They exchanged salutations without alighting, and from the coach windows held a long and most important political conference. The Duke exerted all his eloquence to dazzle Mansfeld's vanity, to which that chief replied with his ordinary address, and with an air of frankness that rendered his real intentions absolutely inscrutable. On returning to Sedan, the Duke de Bouillon poured forth an eulogy on the illustrious captain from whom he had just parted, although he had resisted all his blandishments, and, after some vacillation, accepted an invitation from the Prince of Orange and the States, chiefly, as it should seem, to

have an opportunity of annoying the Spaniards, the allies of Ferdinand.

During this keen competition of diplomatic Wits, the whole of the Lower Palatinate was successively reduced to the Emperor's authority, with the reservation only of Frankenthal, which, according to decency and equity, had such principles been recognized by the chiefs of the holy league, ought to have been held sacred to Elizabeth, not merely because it was her dower, but because, as the daughter of the British monarch, the friend and ally of Ferdinand's protector, the King of Spain, she was entitled to every degree of consideration and respect. After this last outrage, it was urged by Frederic's partizans, that James actually connived at his son-in-law's ruin, and it may be doubted, whether Elizabeth herself did not sometimes yield to this painful impression. In a letter to Sir Thomas Rowe she says*, " It is not good in these days to

* See Letters and Negociations of Sir Thomas Roe.

" be my friend, for they have ever the worse
" luck; but I know that will not alter you.
" The prosperity the king had in the Pala-
" tinate lasted not long, for he was con-
" strained to leave his army, (being ready
" to mutiny for lack of payment,) and to
" retire to Sedan, having no help from any
" body. He went thither, not without
" danger of his life, by the king my father's
" command; and, when he was there, he
" did not so much as maintain his army
" with any help, but chides him that he was
" himself in person with his army, which
" hath forced him to leave it, having no
" other means. There is a speech here that
" the Count Mansfelt will serve the French
" King against those of the religion: if he
" do so, I would he may be hanged for his
" pains. But I must confess I am in a little
" trouble what will become of a worthy
" cousin-german of mine, Duke Christian
" of Brunswick, who, I am sure, you have
" heard of; he hath engaged himself only
" for *my sake* in our quarrel; and if Mans-

"felt go to the French King, I know he
" will not follow him, which makes me fear
" he will be in danger in retiring himself
" hither. I look every hour for news of
" him and the king, who cannot stay long
" at Sedan, for fear of a siege. I pray thee
" be assured that nothing good or evil that
" can come to me shall ever alter my good
" opinion of you, to whom I am ever your
" most assured friend,

" ELIZABETH."

" P. S. — I pray you commend me to
" your wife, and continue writing to me of
" such news as you hear, and of the ideot
" deeds of your Emperor.* Your old ser-
" vant Jack† is now sitting by me, as
" knavish as ever he was. We have many
" volunteers here that may serve, for their
" wit, your Emperor, especially of English
" and French; so I am never destitute of

* The Grand Signor.

† Her monkey.

" a fool to laugh at; when one goes, an-
" other comes."

During the summer months Elizabeth had retired to a village at some distance from the Hague with her new born son, named Louis; and she was at this spot when Frederic announced his arrival from his inauspicious expedition. " I received yesterday,
" by the way of Brussels, three of those so
" dearly cherished letters, which assure me
" of the continuance of your affection, the
" inestimable and only blessing that remains
" to me. To this alone can I look for con-
" solation under afflictions too overwhelm-
" ing to be described. Behold, the final
" catastrophe of the treaty of Brussels is
" the capture of Heidelberg; yet so com-
" pletely has the king been amused, that
" he has not even made the smallest pre-
" paration to lend us aid, even if such were
" his choice. These ambassadors have even
" the effrontery to talk of demolishing Man-
" heim, allotting to us merely the bailiwicks

" of Heidelberg, Gemersum, and Newstadt.
" God knows what the king may say to it.
" In Germany they continue to make dis-
" tinctions between the Emperor and the
" King of Spain, and at the same time ei-
" ther of these, or both, conspire to bereave
" me of every thing, and, with comfortable
" *sang froid*, divide the Palatinate between
" them. Here is my poor Heidelberg taken,
" subjected to every species of cruelty,
" sacked, plundered, and the superb church,
" which formed its principal beauty, devoted
" to the flames. Poor old Herbert is killed.
" Would to Heaven all had been as faith-
" ful as he, and this calamity might have
" been averted. God visits us with rigour.
" The miseries of these devoted people have
" overwhelmed my soul. According to re-
" port, Manheim also is besieged; and I
" have reason to fear that whilst England
" treats, it will be for ever lost. Should
" this take place, I shall put it to the ac-
" count of Mansfeld, with whom I am little
" satisfied at present; but minute details

" must be reserved for our meeting, for
" which I long with unutterable impatience.
" To judge by my own feelings, I have
" been now many years banished from that
" being who is dearer to me than all the
" world; from which I should otherwise
" be ready to withdraw for ever; for, with-
" out thee, I could better devote myself to
" God, and should have more real peace
" and content, in some little obscure nook,
" than with the greatest monarch in the
" most splendid palace; nor will I deny
" but that if I thought only of myself, I
" should cease to struggle with fortune,
" and leave the King of England to do
" whatsoever he listed for the good of his
" grand-children.* It is only by the charm
" of your affection that I am won to re-
" nounce this opinion, and yield to the
" strongest impulse of my soul, the desire

* This evidently alludes to a proposition which had been made for the Duke of Bavaria, who had then no male heir, to hold the Palatinate during his life — after which it was to revert to Frederic's heirs.

" to see you again. To this there now re-
" mains no other obstacle than the king's
" express command for my detention, which
" I trust a few days will now remove.
" You have again assured me that I shall
" receive a cordial welcome. It is wretched
" to live among such a population, but pa-
" tience is the only remedy. I am thankful
" that you can ensure me immunity from
" debts, for I should not much relish tak-
" ing up my quarters in the bridewell of the
" Hague. I hope you have received that
" letter in which I announced the fate of
" Heidelberg. It is in vain that I struggle
" to divert my thoughts from the subject —
" the wound is still too sensible."

In the same letter Frederic pays a merited tribute of gratitude to Duke Christian of Brunswick, who had lost an arm in the battle of Fleura.* " I would far rather part with an

* The battle of Fleura was the most severe and obstinately contested action of that campaign. After the German mercenaries quitted France, they proceeded towards Brabant. The Spanish army, under

" arm than lose such a friend; we owe him " unutterable obligations, and God can wit- " ness I love him even as a brother." — Digressing to domestic subjects, he expresses regret at the disagreement between their eldest son and his tutor, and pleasantly remarks, that the little Rupert must be a prodigy of learning, already to speak so many languages. Reverting to political

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Gonzalez de Cordova and Verdugo, encamped before them at Fleura, obviously with the intention to impede their passage. Perceiving the conflict inevitable, Mansfeld drew up his men in battle array, expatiated on the necessity of exertion, and exhorted them to conquer or to die. Unfortunately, Spanish gold had seduced many from obedience, others became mutinous for pay, and one third of the troops refused to take part in the battle. Nevertheless, Mansfeld and Brunswick led to the charge, and performed prodigies of valour. Mansfeld even surpassed himself; Halberstadt had his arm struck by a musket ball. Finally, the Spaniards remained masters of the field; but the retreat of Mansfeld was equivalent to a victory, since he pursued his way in the face of an enemy far superior in numbers, and in defiance of their efforts to detain him. — See Theatre of Europe. Le Vassor, Histoire de Louis treize, pour l'an. 1622.

grievances, he complains that Count Mansfeld had given the King of France six of the cannon which he had himself brought to Sedan, and that the said Count had done every thing he could to prejudice the king against the Duke de Bouillon; but he adds, "I am glad he has so many troops on foot." He concludes with a tender allusion to D'Urfey's popular romance of Astrée, "Con-"tinue to love your poor Celadon, whose "thoughts, be assured, are ever constant "to his star, and that he will remain, till "death, your Frederic."

After the battle of Fleura, Christian of Brunswick, who had submitted to the amputation of his arm, for which he ever after wore a silver substitute, visited the Hague, where he saw, for the first time, the far-famed Elizabeth, then confessedly in her prime of beauty. With the mere lineaments of her face the prince had long been familiar, from one of those numerous portraits taken of that princess, whose countenance, if we may credit Sir Thomas Rowe, often cap-

tivated even her enemies; * but, independent of her fine form and graceful deportment, there was in her conversation a sprightliness and intelligence, mingled with sweetness, that at once surprised and charmed her brave kinsman. Touched with her misfortunes, and the cheerfulness with which she rose above them, indignant at the neglect she had experienced from her father and her uncle, the King of Denmark, Christian suddenly seemed inspired by a sentiment

* "But before I mention such things, I humbly beseech your Majestie to accept my thanks for the greatest jewells and honours I possess, in yours and his Majestie's pictures, which all nations have come to see; among others, the Emperour's agent being with me, I forced the sight upon him: when he had well beheld them, hee asked me whose they were? I replied, 'The King and Queen of Bohemia; and are not these worthy to have a kingdom?' He answered me, '*Par que nom?*' and so rose and departed, as if he had broken a tooth. I will not flatter your Majestie; your picture here doth conquer hearts; and I am infinitly satisfied that no adversity hath power to banish those smiles which yet smile upon us. Every day we honour them; they make my house a court, and my chamber a presence."

of chivalrous devotion, as far removed from vulgar gallantry as heroism from ferocity. Snatching from her hand a glove, which he first raised with reverence to his lips, he placed it in his Spanish hat as a triumphant plume, which, for her sake, he ever after wore as a martial ornament; then drawing his sword, he took a solemn oath never to lay down arms until he should see the King and Queen of Bohemia reinstated in the Palatinate. No sooner had Christian taken this engagement, than he eagerly proclaimed it to the world, by substituting on his ensign, instead of his denunciation of priests, an intelligible invocation to Elizabeth, in the words "*For God and for her.*" * Whatever impression this gallant allusion produced in Germany, it excited enthusiasm in all the English and Scottish volunteers congregated at the Hague; some of whom saw, not without envy the proud distinction challenged by the Duke of Brunswick of pro-

* "Fur Gott and fur sie."

tecting her who was also the object of their fervent, though more secret adoration.

The sternness of Christian's temper was little congenial to gallantry, and his aspect had a mingled seriousness and wildness rather calculated to inspire awe than awaken love. His figure was tall and thin, his face long and angular *; his complexion pale, but enlivened by dark grey eyes, of which the glance was almost fearfully bright and lustrous. Despising pleasure, abhorring libertinism, he shunned conviviality, was faithful to his friends, implacable to his enemies, tenacious of his honour, and insatiable in his thirst of glory. Among so many great and glorious qualities, it would have been delightful to discover humanity, clemency, and charity; but these virtues had no place in Christian's breast. Not even the woman he professed to idolize, the gracious, the heroic Elizabeth, had influence sufficient to soften the original asperity of his character;

* See the prints of this prince in Kevenhuller and the Theatre of Europe.

and to his last moments he left it doubtful whether his enthusiasm drew not its source rather from hatred than love. The devoted zeal evinced by this prince for his kinswoman was, however, not merely honourable to himself, but to the chivalrous spirit and romantic gallantry that softened and exalted the darker features of that enthusiastic age. In the sentiments that Christian professed there was nothing offensive to female purity; nor did the Queen of Bohemia scruple to accept the homage of the youthful champion whom her husband cherished as a friend and brother. Delighting in traits of heroism and magnanimity, she could not but contrast with Christian's consecration of his hopes and fortunes to her cause, the subtle policy of Mansfeld, or even the systematic friendship of the Margrave of Baden Dourlach. In the former, as a mere soldier of fortune, she could not confide; with the other, who had sacrificed every thing to punctilio, she did not sympathize. In Christian alone she discovered feelings congenial to

those which had prompted her to advocate the cause of the Bohemians. It was thus that the impulses of ambition were disguised from her consciousness; and she dwelt with delight on the idea that she had at least one partizan who espoused her interests from sentiment alone, and adhered to it with the incorruptible integrity of principle.

With the aid of those two chiefs the Prince of Orange raised the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, in defiance of Spinola and the finest army in Europe; but no sooner was this task achieved than he dismissed his German auxiliaries, who, if we may credit their contemporaries, were scarcely less formidable to their friends than their foes; but he was at some pains to induce the belief that the enterprizing adventurers were secretly instigated by the British monarch to attempt something for the recovery of the Palatinate. Unfortunately the true views of James were but too well known to the courts of Madrid and Vienna, for the policy of Maurice to

produce the desired effect.* It appears not at what precise moment the king took the resolution to effect an union between his son, the Prince of Wales, and a daughter of Spain. The idea was notoriously suggested by the ambassador Gondomar,† probably to detach him from the Prince of Orange and the States, with whom he had coalesced in the affair of Barnevelt and the Synod of Dort. Gratified by the success of this diplomatic stratagem, the court of Spain

* From the period of Barnevelt's death James cooled towards the Reformers of France and Germany, whom he identified with the Puritans, who were obnoxious to his hatred and distrust. This secret prejudice conspired with his extravagant veneration of royalty to inflame his eagerness for an alliance with the greatest monarch in Europe. To unite with the bigoted race who still pursued with enmity Maurice and the States of Holland, and the Protestant religion, was inimical to the principles which had raised him to the throne; but James had become jealous of the commercial activity and naval prowess of his Dutch allies; and now that he no longer feared a repetition of the gunpowder plot, dreaded the Papists much less than he abhorred the Puritans.

† See Cabalos. Rapin. Le Vassor.

continued the deception, never doubting but that it might at any time be easy to suspend the treaty, by demanding conditions with which James would find it impossible to comply.

Few courtiers have equalled Count Gondomar in the arts of flattery and persuasion; by stimulating the king's avarice, he alienated him from the States, whom he represented as rivals in commerce; by addressing his vanity, he led him to imbibe the absurd belief that the King of Spain desired his alliance. By playing on his jealousy of prerogative, and his fears of rebellion, he even succeeded in convincing him that he should best consult the security of his crown by conciliating the Pope, and uniting with that monarch who was the most obsequious of his vassals. Having once imbibed this opinion, James adhered to it with an infatuation truly astonishing. With this clue was unravelled all those intricacies in his conduct, otherwise wholly inexplicable. His aversion to Frederic's acceptance of a king-

dom — his refusal to aid him in its protection — his lukewarmness in demanding restitution of his hereditary dominions — the unnatural apathy with which he witnessed the spoliation of his son-in-law's estates — and the disinheritance of his grandchildren — for all this blindness and perversity we discover a solution in the fact, that James feared to provoke the King of Spain, and rather chose to sacrifice his daughter than to relinquish the Infanta.* Dismayed rather than gratified by the enterprize of Mansfeld and Christian of Brunswick, he had demanded their dismission; far from concurring with the views of Maurice, he solicited the Emperor's clemency; and, whilst Tilly conquered the Palatinate, coolly persisted in recommending to Frederic to be passive and obedient. These hard lessons were, by the exile, received with resignation, or rather despondence; which was, however, softened

* See various letters in the Cabalos. Sydney Papers. Letters and Negociations of Sir Thomas Rowe. Le Vassor, Histoire de Louis Treize.

by the society of his wife and children. In his absence, Elizabeth had given birth to a second daughter, called after the Dowager Electress Louisa (to whom Louis the Thirteenth was the sponsor), who appears to have been peculiarly the object of her mother's affection. Perhaps this partiality was, in some degree, produced by the pleasing impressions associated with her birth, which took place shortly after her father's auspicious arrival in Germany, when fortune seemed to have revisited him in Mansfeld's camp; and, as Rupert had been the child of hope, his younger sister was, in her parents' eyes, the pledge of consolation. In each instance, however, the expectations proved fallacious as the predictions of a Kotter or a Christina.* The commencement of the succeeding year (1623) was marked by an event, of which the last century had produced but one solitary example — the solemn, though informal, deposition of a

* Two of many fanatical visionaries, who at that period prophesied the restoration of Frederic.

prince and elector of the Roman empire, and the public investiture of Maximilian with the Upper Palatinate. Under Charles the Fifth a similar act of vengeance had been exercised on John, Elector of Saxony, whose estates were transferred to his kinsman Maurice; but that prince, it is remarked, had engaged in rebellion against his sovereign, and the existing laws of the empire. Frederic, on the contrary, never renounced the allegiance of a subject to the chief of the German empire. His only crime was that of having demanded for the realm, to which he had been invited by the free suffrage of the people whose laws and liberties he had sworn to protect, the restoration of its ancient rights and privileges. It was observed, that the deposition of Ferdinand for tyranny preceded the election of Frederic, who had in no degree contributed to the previous insurrection, and that one event was totally independent of the other. Even in assuming the resistance of the Bohemians to be culpable, Frederic had been but the agent,

not the principal in the transaction; and, as Count Thurm had long since remarked, success alone was wanting to render that glorious which was now pronounced criminal.* Such were the remonstrances addressed by the Protestants, to which Ferdinand vouchsafed no answer. Intoxicated with the Holy League, he scrupled not to deprive of their lineal or collateral rights, not only the heirs of Frederic, but the whole race of Palatine Princes, an injustice which was reprobated even by the Lutherans and Catholics; but the Emperor silenced the advocates of equity and justice by observing that the Palatine House had been the nursery of heresy; "and since God," said he, "has given us the opportunity to root out "those heretics, the precious moment ought "not to be neglected." † Approved by the church, he cared not for the judgments of men, still less for the censures of the

* See Rusdorf, Vindicia Palatina. See also Le Vassor, Histoire de Louis Treize.

† Rushworth's Collections. Harte. Le Vassor.

Protestants; nor did he dissemble his belief that to persecute the Pope's enemies was to manifest piety towards God. But, with whatever arrogance he rejected the appeals of the Dukes of Saxony, of Mecklenburgh, or even the solicitations of the Kings of Britain and Denmark (by each of whom the translation of the Palatinate was opposed), he could not be equally indifferent to the opinion of the King of Spain, by whose minister, Olivarez, the measure was also strongly deprecated, partly, it is said, from jealousy of Maximilian, partly from a sense of decency, which demanded some consideration for James, so long amused with hopes of the Infanta, and who, if suddenly exasperated, might for once be tempted to adopt the popular measure of supporting Maurice and Holland in their unequal contest. During three years, Maximilian had urged, and Ferdinand temporized without effect, whilst Gondomar successfully cajoled King James; nor was it until the 25th of February 1623, that Ferdinand finally con-

vened the Diet of Ratisbon, not to deliberate, but to ratify his imperial decrees.*

Too late did the Protestant princes deplore their base abandonment of Frederic; and they too late discovered that a systematic invasion of their privileges and principles was meditated. In this exigency, to absent themselves from the meeting was their only resource; a measure which arrested not the proceedings of the Diet, although it rendered them illegal. Still less did the gentle expostulation of James alter Ferdinand's determinations. The court of Madrid affected displeasure; but all had previously been compromised with Maximilian, who having first intimated that he should be satisfied with the Upper Palatinate, a part of the Lower was reserved for Spain; whilst the injustice offered to the Palatine family was palliated by a specious proposal, that the

* And, what is most extraordinary, Digby, Earl of Bristol, seems not to have objected strongly to these propositions. (See Memoirs De Rusdorf.) Le Vassor, Histoire de Louis Treize, pour l'an 1623.

province of the Rhine should, after Maximilian's death, revert to the heirs of Frederic, provided that his eldest son should marry one of the Emperor's daughters, and either receive his education under his grandfather at Vienna, or his aunt the Infanta (a zealous Catholic), in London. With regard to the electoral privilege, so long coveted by the Princes of Bavaria, it was alternately to be exercised by either chief, according to the mode devised by the Emperor Louis with the succesors of his brother Rudolph.* Preliminaries being thus arranged, Frederic was declared to have conspired against the peace of Christendom; to have connived with Turks and infidels; and to have deservedly forfeited his dominions. In the meanwhile, Maximilian having ceded Upper Austria, which he had retained as a pledge for his promised recompense, took possession of Heidelberg; and, to evince his gratitude to the Pope, divided with him the treasures

* See introductory chapter of first volume.

of its invaluable library, of which one-half was transported to the Vatican, and the other to that splendid palace in Munich, of which the Bavarian prince was himself the architect.

The town of Frankendal, which was Elizabeth's dower, alone remained of the ancient Palatinate; and, by its position and the strength of its fortifications, appeared capable of long and vigorous resistance. Relying on his wonted power of persuasion, it was artfully suggested by Gondomar to James, that, for the security of this place, nothing better could be devised than to give it in trust to the Archduchess Isabella, in whose hands it should remain fifteen months, during which interval, it was presumed, the negociation pending between Britain and Austria would be concluded. Of all the schemes which Gondomar proposed, or James adopted, none was so promptly realized as the occupation of Frankendal by Spanish troops, who, in the name of the archduchess, took possession of the garri-

son; but little did the royal dupe of Britain anticipate the diplomatic legerdemain which was to crown the *denouement* of this political farce. When restitution of the town was demanded, it appeared that no permission had been stipulated for English troops to pass through towns occupied by the forces of the Catholic monarch, and, consequently, that they were not allowed to reclaim Frankendal; which thus of necessity remained *in statu quo*, encumbered with a Spanish garrison.* At the first glance, it appears scarcely credible, that even James should have been deceived by an artifice so gross and palpable; it is at least certain that his ministers, though sharing in his apathy, participated not in his delusion; and, whether bribed by Spanish gold, or inflated with high church prejudices, their sordid or timid acquiescence was as discreditable to their country as inimical to Elizabeth.

The feelings of this princess were still

* Until the expedition of Gustavus.

more wantonly outraged, when, even after the surrender of Frankendal, James seconded the Emperor's requisition for a fifteen months' truce, demanding that Frederic should pledge himself not to accept the service either of Christian or Mansfeld, or any other chief disposed to engage in his dispute with the imperial sovereign. In vain had the Duke de Bouillon predicted, that the King of Great Britain would at length open his eyes to the gross deceptions which continued to be practised on his credulity by the courts of Vienna and Madrid. The Prince of Sedan lived not to see his words verified *; he died in retirement, soon after the translation of the Upper Palatinate to the Duke of Bavaria; and, to the desponding soul of Frederic, all the magnificent speculations of his aspiring genius seemed

* It is worthy of remark, that with his last breath he enjoined his son to be true to the Reformers, and live in peace and privacy at Sedan; but that prince embraced the Catholic faith, and, without his father's talents, succeeded to his intrigues.

buried with him. Even the courage of Elizabeth was almost shaken by a rapid succession of disastrous events in the north of Germany, in which her brave kinsmen were implicated. A convention of Protestant Princes had lately been held in Lower Saxony, at which the Dukes of Holstein, Mecklenburgh, and Brunswick, and Christian of Denmark, entered into an armed confederacy, for the restitution of the Palatinate. With his wonted ardour, Christian of Brunswick took the field; but his undisciplined troops, in despite of their brave leader, were dispersed by Tilly in a single battle. Retiring to Wolfenbuttle, he found his brother Ulric, the reigning duke, who, to avert the destruction that menaced his states, had pledged his fidelity to the Emperor, and mediated in behalf of Christian, to whom was graciously tendered a free pardon, on the single condition that he should disband his troops, and relinquish the Palatine cause. Without hesitation, Ulric accepted this proposition, which even the King of Denmark

approved, as a measure of self-defence, and to avert destruction from the House of Brunswick. But far different was the judgment of Christian. Incapable of duplicity, that high-minded prince refused to avail himself of an opportunity, such as Mansfeld would have sought, or Gondomar created, of amusing Ferdinand with professions never to be fulfilled. From a principle of self-respect, he held his word too sacred to be impugned, even with an enemy, and haughtily rejected all communication in the Emperor's name. Being perfectly aware that a herald had arrived at his brother's court on the part of Ferdinand, who offered by his messenger a free pardon, Christian shut himself up in his apartment, nor did Ulric presume to invade his privacy. At length the Duchess Dowager, his mother, ventured to enter the chamber, where, after two days of solitary meditation, he was fortified in the resolution never to swerve from the principles he had sworn to uphold until death. At the sight of his mother's tears

he was softened if not subdued, and she besought him no longer, by an ill-timed obstinacy, to draw destruction on himself and his family; enough had been sacrificed to honour and the ties of consanguinity, something should now be yielded to prudence. In support of her arguments, she added, that herself and his brother, Ulric, were about to retire to Holstein; and that his uncle, the King of Denmark, conjured him to bear them company. To these solicitations, Christian listened in silence: but when, encouraged by his forbearance, the Duchess produced the imperial parchment, the pledge of reconciliation, perhaps of honour, dignity, and prosperity, his passion burst forth uncontrolled; and seizing the scroll, which he threw disdainfully on the floor, he stamped on it with frantic vehemence, and finally consigned its fragments to the flames, exclaiming *, "Thus perish it! I will not "obey the King of Denmark. I disclaim

* See Sir Thomas Roe's Letters and Negociations.

" his authority, defy all the recreants; and " swear never to lay down my arms until " the King and Queen of Bohemia shall be " restored to the Palatinate." Finding him inflexible, the Duchess Dowager and her son Ulric departed for Holstein, whilst Christian as hastily withdrew from Wolfenbuttle, but it was only to collect and discipline a few straggling troops, with whom he continued his route to East Freisland, where he once more joined Mansfeld's standard; Elizabeth could not but be touched by this trait of generous fidelity; but deeply was she wounded by the intelligence, that her brother, the Prince of Wales, had suddenly departed for Spain with the Marquis of Buckingham. From whatever motive that accomplished, though capricious favourite, had been impelled to take this step, whether actuated by personal vanity or political jealousy, the extravagance of fancy, or the flights of ambition, it bore a sinister augury to Elizabeth.

" I have cause enough to be sad" — she writes to Roe, " yett I am still of my wilde

" humour, to be as merrie as I can, in spite
" of fortune. I can send you no newes
" but that which will make you sadder, and
" I see you have no need of it. All growes
" worse and worse, as I know you under-
" stand by honest Sir Dudley Carleton.
" My brother is still in Spaine. The dispen-
" sation is come, but I know not yett upon
" upon what conditions. My brother is
" still loving to me: I would others had as
" good nature. He sent Will. Crofts to
" see me, from Spaine, with a verie kinde
" letter and message. But my father will
" never leave treating, though with it he
" hath lost us all; for poore Frankendal, he
" hath delivered to the Spaniard, and now
" would make a truce for fifteen months,
" till a peace be made; to give our enemies
" time to settle themselves in our countrie.
" My young cousen of Brunswick is still
" constant. He hath a faire armie of
" twentie thousand men. He was forced
" to leave Mansfeld by his evill usage.
" Mansfeld is a brave man, but all is not

" gold that glisters in him. I am glad you
" like our pictures. The king desires me
" to tell you, that he wishes all were of
" your mind; and that he intreats you to
" be assured of his love. I pray commend
" me to the Count of Tour*: I will answere
" his letters by the first, I would the
" Turkes payed the Emperor soundly, for
" it is a hard choise which is the worser
" dieull, I need not desire you to do all the
" good you can, for I see you do it; which
" will make me ever to be constantly, your
" most assured frend,

" ELIZABETH.

" I pray recommend my love to your
" wife: farewell honest Thom."†

* Thurm.

† This letter was written in May 1623.

CHAPTER XII.

OF ELIZABETH'S DOMESTIC HAPPINESS. — FAVOURABLE CHANGE IN HER PROSPECTS. — SUDDEN FRIENDSHIP OF BUCKINGHAM. — RUPTURE BETWEEN BRITAIN AND SPAIN. — ARMAMENT UNDER MANSFELD. — CAUSES OF ITS DISASTROUS ISSUE. — DEATH OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE. — NEW ARMAMENT, UNDER THE AUSPICES OF CHRISTIAN OF DENMARK. — DEFEAT OF CHRISTIAN, DUKE OF BRUNSWICK. — HIS DEATH. — MANSFELD'S REPULSE BY WALLENSTEIN. — RETREAT INTO DALMATIA. — A LAST EFFORT OF CHRISTIAN OF DENMARK AGAINST FERDINAND. — ELIZABETH'S DREARY PROSPECTS. — LUKEWARMNESS OF CHARLES THE FIRST.

AMIDST the various trials of temper and patience imposed on the Queen of Bohemia, it must not be supposed that she was at this period experiencing severe privations. Ab-

stracted from political considerations, she enjoyed evidently no common share of happiness; endeared to her husband, with whom she lived in unreserved confidence and harmony; encircled by children, whose early promise of talent and virtue might satisfy the most ambitious wishes of a parental breast; idolized by her British partizans, cherished by numerous personal friends, she had the privilege rarely enjoyed by princes, of being loved and served for her own sake, without regard to rank or recompence. She lived in a little knot of intimates, each of whom was worthy of her entire confidence, and in whose society, she might almost forget her former disappointments. Of these, the first was the Prince of Orange, with whom she continued to be an acknowledged favourite, and to whose frank and ardent cordiality were now added the delicate attentions of the more polished Count Henry of Nassau, who since her residence in Holland, had cultivated her society with even more assiduity than his brother. Nor was

Elizabeth sorry to discover, that her court presented to him a stronger object of attraction than herself, in her favourite, Amelia Solms, who, after the battle of Prague, had accompanied her progress through Westphalia, and who by the sweetness of her temper, combined with an intelligent understanding and cultivated taste, continued to diffuse cheerfulness and elegance through her domestic circle. The charms of this young lady soon captivated Henry of Nassau, whose strict morals revolted from those gallantries to which other men of equal rank were addicted, and in whom his mother had inspired a veneration for the female sex, which rendered him peculiarly susceptible of a virtuous attachment. Since the death of Louisa Coligny, he had lived with the Prince of Orange in perfect concord. Originally adverse to the proscription of the Remonstrants, without formally disclaiming his former friends, he adopted the cautious policy of holding with them no personal or

epistolary communication; and whilst Grotius languished in France, and Utenbogard, the venerated pastor of Louisa, sought safety in exile, Henry seemed wholly occupied with the vicissitudes of war, by which religious faction was for the present suspended. During some years he had been urged by the Prince of Orange * to marry, but despaired of meeting with a princess acceptable to his taste, and was too well acquainted with his brother's aspiring views, to flatter himself he would sanction his union with the woman of his choice, who, though of royal lineage, was destitute of fortune, or any political connexion that could recommend her to his ambition. But Maurice, however ambitious, was ardent and sincere in his fraternal attachments; and, having discovered Henry's sentiments for Amelia, he one day surprised him, by proposing that he should make her his wife: ob-

* See Du Maurier's Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Hollands. See also Sir Thomas Roe's Letters and Negotiations.

serving that a woman who had been formed under the Queen of Bohemia could not fail to render her husband happy. Incredulous at first, Henry affected to consider this exhortation as raillery; but being at length convinced that the prince had not only detected his partiality, but from vigilant observation satisfied himself that Amelia well deserved it, he received with gratitude the permission of his adopted father to offer her his splendid fortune. Whether the young lady's inclinations coincided with her destination, appears not to have been doubted by either brother; but it is probable that the same discretion which had secured to her their esteem, guaranteed her heart from any previous attachment. Elizabeth had reason to consider as a compliment to herself, the partiality with which Maurice regarded Amelia Solms, since it was founded almost exclusively on the sympathy which she had evinced for her misfortunes, and a certain correspondence, real or imaginary, which he traced in her character, and that of her royal

mistress.* Each of these ladies evinced courage, dignity and self-possession. Placed in a subordinate situation, Amelia was more reserved, but equally sprightly and intelligent. In one respect, however, there certainly existed no conformity between them. The prudence of Amelia, in after life, degenerated into parsimony, a quality never to be ascribed to Elizabeth, or perhaps to any individual of the house of Stuart.

The munificent spirit of Maurice was never more agreeably displayed than in promoting his brother's marriage. Eager to remove every possible objection, he furnished the wedding portion, and obtained from the States a dower for the accomplished bride; to receive whose hand, Henry entered the High Church, from which he had constantly absented himself since the expulsion of the Remonstrants.

It is a pleasing trait in Elizabeth's cha-

* See Du Maurier Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Hollands.

racter, that she cordially rejoiced in an event, by which her attendant gentlewoman became in all but nominal rank, superior to her former mistress; and it was equally creditable to the taste and delicacy of both parties, that during an interval of forty years, their friendship was never interrupted by rivalry or caprice, or any of those numerous petty causes of female estrangement. There could perhaps be no better proof of their mutual exemption from envy, jealousy, and the wayward passions incident to polished society. Independent of the advantages to be derived from their intimacy with the Prince of Orange, it was no small source of happiness to Elizabeth that she enjoyed a friendly commerce with her own country. Among the English who resorted to Holland, to learn the art of war under Maurice and Henry of Nassau, and to whom the long interval of peace had left no other means of signalizing their native valour, she soon acquired a band of cavaliers devoted to her service. Of these Ensign Hopton, already

mentioned, and William Lord Craven, afterwards eminently distinguished for military reputation, assumed the first place. The enthusiasm that Elizabeth inspired in her countrymen abroad was communicated to her friends at home; and both in England and Scotland her party was constantly increasing to a degree that rendered her an object of political jealousy to James and Charles or their ministers. In those brilliant days of youth, which she had afterwards but too much cause to retrace with regret, Elizabeth probably overlooked as trivial the advantages annexed to the possession of health, talent, and beauty, with all their varied and exquisite sources of enjoyment; but although the habits and prejudices of her rank might not allow her to find in these an equivalent for the loss of power, she was not insensible to the womanly privilege of being hailed as the queen of hearts, whose smile was accepted as a recompense for danger, and an earnest of glory. It might perhaps appear extra-

ordinary that her letters should contain no allusion to her residence in Bohemia, and that she should never revert even to the possibility of being restored to that kingdom. But this silence affords a proof both of her good sense and sincerity, and that the fever of ambition no longer possessed her breast; unlike other female politicians of the day, who never ceased to struggle for pride and power, she resigned at once the chimera of fantastic greatness, which had once accompanied her efforts, without renouncing the zeal she had long cherished for the Protestant party. It should also be remarked, to the honour of Elizabeth's moral feelings, that she participated not in the controversial spirit, to which ladies of rank in Holland and Germany were frequently addicted. Her charity forbade her to countenance any bitterness towards the Contra-Remonstrants. Even if her understanding was not more enlightened that that of Frederic, the kind sympathies of her nature supplied its place; and she was never known to

visit, as Frederic had done, the Rasphouse at Amsterdam, in which were incarcerated the Non-Conformist ministers, or to attribute their misfortunes to perverted judgment.

Hitherto, Elizabeth had never gained the confidence of those favorites who successively governed her father and brother. According to Protestant and Catholic historians *, she now addressed herself to Buckingham, with flattering offers of amity and alliance: by a fortunate coincidence, the overture was received at the moment when that haughty nobleman was disgusted with Olivarez and the Spanish Court, and eager to break the negociations, in which nearly seven years had been consumed. His decision was imperative to Charles, over whose mind he exercised unlimited sovereignty; but by a whimsical perversity, the Spanish ministers became seriously inclined to the match, precisely at that moment when Charles and Buckingham quitted Madrid,

* See Nani and Rapin. Le Vassor. Rushworth's Collections.

with even more alacrity than they had entered it.*

On their return to England, Buckingham

* It is asserted by Nani and all the Catholic historians, that the King of Bohemia offered to Buckingham to unite their families, by the intermarriage of their children. The suggestion appears very plausible, from the ardour with which Buckingham subsequently entered into their interests, although, from the volatility of his temper, he did not long adhere to them. The Spanish alliance was not only inimical to Frederic and Elizabeth, of whom it was well known that they never could sanction the apostacy of their children; but dangerous to the United States, which it was the object of the Court of Madrid first to deprive of English aid; and then to overwhelm with the combined force of Spain and Austria. It is notorious, that the seven years' treaty of marriage had never been regarded with complacency in Spain, until after the arrival of Charles at Madrid, when the hope of his conversion in some degree softened the repugnance hitherto avowed by the Infanta, who had previously protested she should prefer shutting herself up in a convent. It was not, therefore, without reason, that Charles exacted from Olivarez a promise, that the princess should not, after the proxy marriage, enter a nunnery, in order to elude the engagement. See Nani. Kevenhuller, Le Vassor, Histoire de Louis Treize. But the strong political motive that decided the Court of Spain, was unquestionably to deprive the United States of their Protestant Ally.

became avowedly a patriot and a partisan of Elizabeth. He even offered court to the Puritans; but that attachment to the Protestant religion had no influence over his conduct, may be inferred from the ardour with which he entered into negociations for another Catholic Princess, Henrietta of France; but whose alliance might, he conceived, be highly instrumental to the restitution of the Palatinate. The volatile passions of Buckingham produced a sudden change in the whole system of James's policy. In an instant, all breathed of war, and Elizabeth joyfully announced to Roe, her newly excited hopes. "Since my dear brother's "return into England, all is changed from "being Spanish; in which I assure you, "that Buckingham doth most nobly and "faithfully for me. Worthy Southampton "is much in favour, and all that are not "Spanish.

"The Parliament should have been upon "the 16th of last month; but by reason of "the good Duke of Richmond's death,

" who was found in his bed, you know how
" well I loved him, and may therefore easily
" guess, that I am not a little sorry for his
" loss. The Parliament began the 19th of
" the last month. I send you the copy of the
" King's speech, which I know will not
" afflict you. I leave all particulars to Sir
" Dudley Carleton's letters; only I will
" tell you, that one thing gives me much
" hope of this Parliament, because it began
" upon my dear dead brother's birth-day.
" I must also tell you, that my brother doth
" shew so much love to me in all things, as
" I cannot tell you how much I am glad of it.
" The good old Count of Tour (Thurn) is
" here, whom I think you have bewitched,
" for he cannot speak enough of your kind-
" ness to him; which I give you many
" thanks for. He is still very confident of
" Bethlem Gabor. Honest Tom, I pray, be
" ever assured of my love; and be confident,
" I am ever your very affectionate friend,

" ELIZABETH."

In return for this communication, Roe

suggested a scheme for reclaiming the friendship of Bethlem Gabor, whose offers had been repeatedly neglected; and who therefore was now to be sought and won. The character of this extraordinary man has been loaded with obloquy by Catholic writers; but, externally, he appears to have been as decorous in his conduct, and even as strict in his morals, as any contemporary sovereign of Europe. Born in a private station, he had married a gentlewoman without pretensions to beauty, but distinguished by her domestic accomplishments, who, when her husband became the Sovereign of Transylvania, might have expected to be repudiated, or, at least, supplanted by a younger lady; but Bethlem, who professed to be a Reformer, and affected an ardent zeal for evangelical purity, renounced not in her declining age the companion of his humbler fortunes, whom he valued for her thrifty dispositions, and still entrusted with the superintendence of his vintage, and the key of his tokay. Nor when he was elected

King of Hungary, did he scruple to associate her with his greatness; and he had actually prepared for her brows a costly diadem. But no sooner had the death of this homely princess restored to the chief the liberty of making a second choice, than, fired by ambition, he audaciously turned his eyes towards the archduchesses, the august daughters of the mighty Ferdinand. With whatever amazement this unheard of presumption filled the Court of Vienna, it was thought prudent to dissemble with Bethlem, and even to amuse the heretical chief, who had passed his fiftieth year, with as many subterfuges and blandishments as the Spanish ministers had employed to preserve their Infanta from the Prince of Wales.* Aware of the prejudices of the

* Two years before, this alliance might have produced important consequences; at that time, Bethlem, who would have purchased the friendship of the British Monarch, at any price, waited but for a word, to make an irruption into Hungary, which would have spread terror to the gates of Vienna; but in vain did Roe lament that his hands were tied, and that, according

Imperial Court, Sir Thomas Roe boldly predicted that Gabor was ultimately to be put off with a waiting-woman; but in this he was deceived, since Ferdinand, to purchase his alliance, actually offered him the celebrated Maria Gonzague, afterwards married to the King of Poland. But not even the beautiful daughter of the Duke of Nevers could reconcile this Transylvanian to the resignation of his darling hope, an alliance with the blood of Hapsburg: and Roe politically advised Elizabeth to bait his vanity with the offer of a German Princess, and an invitation to accede to the Protestant Union. To this proposal Elizabeth assented, and Bethlem was encouraged to wed a daughter of Brandenburgh, who was

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to his instructions, he had, himself, averted mischief from the enemies of the Palatine House. "I have," said he, "plucked a thorn from the lion's foot, whose "den I dare not enter, with the hope of gratitude. At "present," he adds, (in 1624,) "times are changed; "he must be sought and won."

sister to the Queen of Sweden.* No sooner was the marriage treaty concluded, than a complete change appeared to have taken place in Bethlem's habits and pursuits, and he transmitted orders to his agents in Italy and France, to transport into Transylvania physicians, apothecaries, fiddlers, teachers of music, plasterers and cabinet-makers; toys and trinkets; taylors, jewellers, and milliners; his long flowing beard was carefully nourished, and he affected uncommon cheerfulness. But it is not stated, that he attempted to acquire either the French or German languages, alone familiar to his intended companion, and he continued to converse in his native Hungarian dialect, or occasionally in Latin, of which he had a limited knowledge. The expected espousals of Bethlem created much amusement in the polished courts of Europe; and the Catholic Princes exulted in the dereliction of pride and roy-

* See Roe.

alty, which such an alliance implied, in the House of Brandenburgh.

The attention of Elizabeth was soon drawn to a less amusing subject than the singularities of the Prince of Transylvania. Her first impulse had been to rely with implicit faith on her brother's love and Buckingham's friendship; but this satisfaction was soon alloyed by the painful conviction that towards her, certain principles of political jealousy continued to operate. Even when James prepared for the first and only armament of his reign, avowedly to recover the Palatinate, she had the mortification to perceive that neither herself nor Frederic were consulted on a subject so important to their interests, since even their envoy Rusdorf, confessedly one of the most intelligent diplomatists of the day, could with difficulty obtain an audience of the British monarch. On one occasion James told him bluntly, that he was going to hunt, and would not lose his pastime even if God Almighty wanted

to speak with him.* Not less pusillanimous than formerly, he submitted to Frederic's consideration the proposals of the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria†, desiring him to weigh the uncertainties of war before he decided to reject them. In reply to this letter, Frederic observed, that the Emperor offered no security for the restoration even of the Lower Palatinate on the demise of the Duke of Bavaria. He conceived the overture to be merely a snare, by which, if he embraced the proposal, he should forfeit the regard of all who were now disposed to be his friends, and who, with reason, objected to the transference of his electorate: that with regard to the marriage, it was evidently an idea thrown out to gain time: one of his ancestors, Frederic the Second, had been in like manner flattered and deceived: that the apostacy of his sons was a measure which, as a man of honour and a Protestant, he was bound to prevent; and that, finally,

* Memoirs de Rusdorf. † Cabala.

if he could bequeath to his heirs nothing but their rights, he was at least resolved that these should not, by any unworthy concessions on his part, be alienated.*

The arrival of Mansfeld in England created a sensation more vivid than any event that had occurred since Elizabeth's marriage. The populace gathered round his carriage; men and women of the first rank courted his attention; the king, the prince, and Buckingham vied with each other in demonstrations of courtesy. He was lodged in St. James's; and, with his wonted facility, the first interview, so completely engaged the king's entire confidence, that to him alone was entrusted the task of restoring Frederic to the Palatinate. In France, Mansfeld had been unsuccessful in his application, since Louis but nominally agreed to enter into a league against Austria. James himself was disposed to wait for the concurrence and support of France and Denmark; but Buckingham,

* This letter is attributed to Rusdorf.

ever eager for distinction, was enchanted with the scheme of re-establishing Frederic in a few months, merely by keeping in pay the army which was to be raised and maintained by Mansfeld. The only obstacle appeared to be the difficulty of finding money for the purpose. "The aspect of "affairs in this country," says Rusdorf, "resembles the atmosphere in April; in "the same day we have transitions from "the freezing cold of winter to exhilirating "hope and summer heat. Now the Earl "of Bristol is disgraced, in consequence of "having spoken against Mansfeld, who, in "reply, called the Earl a liar and a traitor. "The Earl protested he had simply adhered "to the instructions he received, and that "the King of Spain really desired the res-"titution of the Palatinate." * But the

* Rusdorf disbelieves the Earl's professions; but in this he appears to have been unjust. It is pleasing to recur to the tribute offered to the Earl's honour and fidelity by the King of Spain, who, after having in vain attempted to attach him to his own service, would have forced on his acceptance a present, which the Earl de-

public sided with Mansfeld and Buckingham. Elizabeth was perhaps piqued that her avowed champion, Christian, who arrived in England at the same time, was not caressed as much as the adventurer chief; but the one disdained, the other courted popular suffrage. After all these splendid prospects, Mansfeld could wring but twelve thousand pounds from James, who had squandered a hundred and forty thousand on his daughter's marriage.

"I had answered you sooner," says Elizabeth, "but that I stayed, hoping every day "to send some certain good newes out of "England, where there is therteene thou- "sand men a levying for Mansfeld. What "they are to doe, I know not, for the king "and I are utterlie ignorant of all, though

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clined. Guessing the motives of his rejection, the king persisted in his importunity, saying, "It will be all "between you and me, nobody can mention it."—"I "beg your Majesty's pardon, there is one who could "not be silent — it is the Earl of Bristol." — See Le Vassor, Histoire de Louis Treize.

" they say it is for our service. The king
" doth give you manie thanks for your for-
" wardness in his service, as you shall see
" by his owne letter to you. He is of your
" opinion concerning Bethlem Gabor and
" his peace, and will see what meanes can
" be done to encourage him; and, by my
" next, I hope to say more to you in that
" point. For the marriage you write of for
" him, our princes in Germany are so tick-
" lish in that, as they will hardly propound
" one, before they be desired from Bethlem
" Gabor himself, or some under-hand from
" him. Sir Robert Anstruther is now with
" the princes of Germany, from the king
" my father. By Sir Dudley Carleton's
" letter you shall see what he doth there. I
" see they are all forward enough, if they
" had a head; but they straine curtesie who
" shoulde beginne. The King of Sweden
" offers as much as can be desired; I woulde
" my uncle woulde doe so too; but he is
" more backwarde than so neere a kinsman
" should be. I have no hope of the Elector

" of Saxony; he will ever be a beast. By
" my next I hope to lett you know more.
" I will also send you a cipher; and, for
" this time, you shall have all more fullie
" by Sir Dudley Carleton. I am sure you
" have already heard the infinite losse we
" have all had of the brave, worthie Earl of
" Southampton, and his son the Lord Wri-
" othslie. You know how true a friend I
" have lost in them both, and may imagine
" easilie how much my grief is for them;
" which hath bene redoubled by the death
" of my youngest boy save one, called Louys.
" It was the pretiest childe I had, and the
" first I ever lost. I have christened this
" youngest of all Edward. You see I can
" send you nothing but deaths; onlie your
" wife Apsley * is gone into England, to
" marry Sir Albert Morton, who goeth or-
" dinarie ambassadour into France. I have
" not yett seene the Dutch ambassadour's

* An appellation sportively given in her childhood to this young lady, who had been one of the six girls, independent of Mistress Anna Dudley, who in 1613 had accompanied Elizabeth from England to Heidelberg.

" letter you referr me to, but I ame pro-
" mised. Honest Thom, I pray still con-
" tinue, as you have done, to doe your
" best in those businesses; for I ame most
" confident of your love to me, who ame
" ever, constantlie,

" Your affectionate friend,

" ELIZABETH."

The result of the expedition was unfortunate, from the same causes which had rendered so many preceding efforts abortive, the want of singleness and directness of purpose; and as formerly the attention of James had been distracted * by the Infanta, so now was Buckingham's ardour divided by the triple objects of triumphing over the Earl of Bristol, of embroiling France with Spain, and reinstating the King and Queen of Bohemia. Much time was lost in neu-

* Equally distracted was Louis, who, as a bigot, must exult in the addition of a Catholic electorate, as a King of France, must seek the humiliation of Spain, and, as a rival, must view with suspicion the coalition of Britain with the United States. Added to this, the commotions of the Calvinists in France strengthened his repugnance to the Protestants in Germany.

tralizing the discordant interests, and conciliating the passions of the belligerent parties, whilst the exigencies of the moment were neglected: the troops, which had been collected with unexampled promptitude, languished in inactivity in England, and, when once embarked, were not permitted to land in Flanders or Holland until, thinned by disease, they finally dwindled away, before the Kings of Denmark and France had begun to put their forces in motion.

James lived not to witness the miserable fate of this ill-concerted enterprize; his death was followed by that of a prince, than whom no character could be conceived more strikingly contrasted with his own — Maurice of Nassau, confessedly one of the first statesmen and most successful commanders of the age. Of his military and political talents, his prudence, penetration, and activity, there could be but one sentiment. His conduct in domestic life was marked by probity and benevolence; but

the execution of Barnevelt has left an indelible stain on his memory; and it is a remarkable instance of retributive justice, that the object for which that crime was committed, the establishment of an independent and hereditary sovereignty in the States, was unsuccessful; and that his nephew, the King of Bohemia, instead of becoming his support, as he had calculated, was thrown almost entirely upon his protection. Towards the close of life, Maurice became sensible of a mortifying diminution in his popularity; but he was too wise not to have known that the fervour of party would subside whenever the excitement created by competition had ceased to operate. That he experienced no compunction for the severity with which he had treated Barnevelt, may be inferred from the rigour with which he inflicted the same punishment on the son of that great man, who, in 1624, engaged in a conspiracy to revenge his father's death. On such an occasion to have shown clemency would have been great and graceful; but Maurice not

only resisted the prayers of the aged mother who supplicated for her son's life, but even reminded her, that she had not offered the same solicitation to save the life of her husband; nor was he touched by the simplicity of her answer — "I could not ask mercy for my "husband — he was innocent; but I im- "plore it for my son, who is guilty." Valiant, not magnanimous, Maurice dismissed the widow of his first friend and benefactor, to groan over her son's untimely grave.

To philanthropy, Maurice made no pretensions, nor is his patriotism unimpeached, since he witnessed, without regret, the expulsion of several thousand Arminians, who, under the plea of preserving religious unity, were driven into exile; either languishing as refugees in France, or struggling in Holstein with the various impediments presented, by an ungenial climate, and the coarse habits of an unenlightened semi-barbarous people. He was no lover of letters or the elegant arts; his estimate of character and accomplishments was grounded on a rigid

estimate of practical utility; his habits and aptitudes were such as might have been expected from a system of military despotism. He knew not how to appreciate the privilege of presiding over a free people. But the defects of Maurice were overlooked or forgotten, in the respect inspired by the constancy and generosity which he evinced towards an unfortunate and meritorious kinsman. With reason had Elizabeth confided in his friendship, and with genuine feeling she deplored a loss that she afterwards discovered to be irreparable.

From the Queen of Bohemia.

"*26th July*, 1625.

"My Lord,

"I have had of late two such great losses, "as hath made me unfit to write to you, or "anie else, for the King's death, and the "Prince of Orange's, did follow so neere "one another, as it gaue me double sorrow, "for the losse of such a father, and such a

" friend, whom I loved as a father. All
" this hath much afflicted me; and I shoulde
" haue bene sadder, but the comforte of
" my deare brother's love doth revive me.
" He hath sent to me Sir Henry Vane, his
" coferer, to assure me, that he will be both
" father and brother to the King of Bo-
" hemia and me. Now, you may be sure,
" all will goe well in Englande; for your
" new master will leave nothing undone
" for our good. The great fleet is almost
" readie to goe out. If Bethlem Gabor be
" an honest man, I hope he shall have
" shortlie no excuse, not to be crowded
" by diversion. My uncle, the King of
" Dennemark, doth beginne to declare him-
" self for us, and so doth Sweden. I heere
" a discourse of what you have so often
" wished, of a marriage for Gabor. The
" electour of Brandebourg hath a sister,
" and he is our brother-in-law: I hope you
" understand me, that it is she I mean; but
" I pray keepe this to yourself, till you heere
" it from others. I am sure you heere al-

" readie of this Prince of Orange's mariage
" with one of my women; she is a Countesse
" of Solmes, daughter to Count Solmes,
" that served the king of Bohemia at Hei-
" delburg. I doubt not but you remember
" him, by his red face, and her mother by
" her fatness; she, you never saw, but two
" of her sisters; she is verie handsome and
" good; she has no money, but he has
" enough for both. I have heard that you
" are to be recalled; let me know if it be soe:
" if it be true, I hope it shall be for a good
" preferrment, which, I assure you, none
" wishes you more than I doe: if you be
" not recalled, I shall, and the King, more
" freely imploye you then ever; because I
" know you will have more libertie to do
" us good, then ever; for I have the best
" brother in the worlde. He is now a married
" man; for his marriage was performed at
" Paris, the 1st of this month, old stile,
" by the Duc of Chateauneuf, otherwise
" Prince Genuille, as representing my bro-
" ther, she is now on her way for England.

" If I can at anie time doe you anie good
" to my brother, I assure you I will, if I
" doe but know in what; for I will never
" be unfaithful to you, for the manie testi-
" monies you have given me of your good
" affection. Therefore, honest Thom, be
" assured that I will never change being
" constantlie, your most assured loving
" friend,

" ELIZABETH."

There has never, perhaps, existed a document which more strikingly illustrated the vanity of human expectations, than the foregoing letter. How far Charles justified the confidence reposed in him by his sister, will appear hereafter: of Sir Henry Vane it is here needless to speak. The great fleet which Elizabeth had contemplated with such exultation, sailed to Cadiz, and after having weathered a severe tempest, returned to England, without the rich galleons, or any recompense worthy of such an enterprize. Equally unavailing were the brotherly pro-

mises, which had excited in her mind such ardent feelings of gratitude. That the first impulse of Charles was strong and generous, cannot be doubted; but his faith was given to Buckingham, and his good intentions frustrated by empty coffers, and the mutable humour of his capricious favourite. The marriage of Charles, from which Elizabeth augured all that she wished, proved a fatal source of discord and ruin to herself and her family. The espousals of Bethlem were celebrated with Catherine of Brandenburgh, only to endow that Princess with a splendid portion for a second husband. The results of the northern coalition were still more melancholy. Of all the circumstances mentioned in her letter, the union of Count Henry of Nassau with Amelia Solms, to which she appears to have attached the least importance, alone contributed to her permanent comfort. Christian of Denmark being defeated by Tilly in 1625, still persevered in opposing the usurpation of Ferdinand; and, in 1626, published a manifesto, proclaiming

the grievances of the Protestants, and as Generalissimo of the Princes of Lower Saxony, announcing an undertaking to redeem their liberties. Ulric, Duke of Brunswick, declining to join this confederacy, the King of Denmark commanded him to quit his dominions; and his brother, the administrator of Halberstadt assumed his place.* Once more did Elizabeth surrender herself to dreams of hope; and again did Christian indulge anticipations of triumph. The army of Lower Saxony consisted of 60,000 men, and, when united, bade defiance to the foe; but the difficulty of providing subsistence, compelled the division of its forces. Mansfeld marched towards the Elbe, the king of Denmark encamped by the Weser; whilst Duke Christian made an irruption into the bishopric of Hildesheim: from thence, he was soon

* The substitution of Christian appears to have been made with the connivance of Ulric; who, in case of a reverse of fortune, hoped, by this expedient, to avert from himself, imperial vengeance.

recalled to support the King, who found himself, once more, confronted by the veteran Tilly. The hero of Brunswick eagerly obeyed the summons; but impatience and enthusiasm produced fatal effects on a frame already worn down with fatigue, and whilst the Danish army lingered at Nordheim, the gallant Christian was seized with a malignant fever, which confined him to the Castle of Wolfenbuttle. The impetuosity of his temper probably accelerated the progress of his malady; and, after a few days, he breathed his last, in the same apartment in which he had, two years before, rejected with disdain the Emperor's pardon, and sworn to defend until death the rights of Frederic and Elizabeth. To that pledge he had adhered with inviolable faith, and his most poignant regret in parting from life was, that he had not been permitted to seal it with his blood. In the battle which ensued*, the standard of Brunswick was eminently con-

* At Lutter, near Nordheim, in Brunswick.

spicuous; but the helmet, the consecrated glove of Elizabeth's champion had vanished; and no longer was his heroic spirit transfused through the ranks, to propitiate victory, or redeem defeat. The King of Denmark was brave and resolute, but the strength and discipline of Tilly finally prevailed; and the intrepid monarch, after having had three horses killed under him, was not only constrained to quit the field, but to take shelter in Holstein, from whence he was soon chased into Denmark, leaving Ferdinand master of the Sound, and supreme arbiter of the north. Nor had a happier fortune awaited Mansfeld, who, in marching along the Elbe, was overtaken and defeated by a general of rising reputation, who from his example derived an idea afterwards fatally developed, in the creation of a standing army. This was no other than Albert Wallenstein, a baron of Bohemia, who held the subordinate rank of Colonel in the battle of Prague; but who

had lately raised at his own expense, an army of 20,000 men, of which, with the emperor's permission, he had assumed the sole and exclusive disposal. Like Mansfeld, he levied contributions indiscriminately on friends or foes; but giving to these plunderers permanent authority, and lending a legitimate colour to their excesses, he went beyond the original master whom he affected to contemn: and over whom the superiority of his forces ensured his success. But Mansfeld, though defeated, was not sudued: and, having again collected, as by magic, 15,000 men, marched into Silesia, to join Bethlem Gabor, with the expectation of making, in conjunction with that chief, an irruption into Hungary. But the wary Transylvanian was already apprized of Tilly's victory, and having just celebrated his nuptials with the beautiful Catherine of Brandenburgh, was perhaps not unwilling to return to those scenes of pomp and festivity which had been prepared for his

youthful bride.* Abandoned by his ally, Mansfeld disbanded his troops, of whom

* The following account of Bethlem's nuptials, extracted from Le Mercure Francois, may perhaps be amusing to the reader.

" Nearly a year had elapsed since the commence-
" ment of the negociations for Catherine of Branden-
" bourg, whose two elder sisters were married to the
" Duke of Brunswick, and the King of Sweden. The
" preliminaries being adjusted, after many delays,
" Bethlem sent to Berlin his Ambassador, accompa-
" nied by a hundred nobles, in whose presence the
" espousals were performed, on the 20th of February,
" according to the Lutheran Church, with an accom-
" paniment of exquisite music. On the 26th, the
" bride departed from Berlin. She was attended to the
" frontier by the Elector of Brandenburg, and a con-
" course of nobility. The Marechal of Brandenbourg
" escorted her to Cassovia, and she was cheered dur-
" ing the journey by the presence of her widowed sister
" the Duchess of Brunswick. In the meanwhile, Beth-
" lem had invited to his wedding the Grand Signor, the
" King of Hungary, the Emperor, and several other po-
" tentates; for each of whom apartments were prepared
" in the palace allotted to strangers, with every atten-
" tion to the rites of hospitality. The first ambassador
" who arrived at Cassovia, was the Prince of Wallachia,
" accompanied by a hundred and fifty cavaliers, by whom
" Bethlem was presented with two magnificent horses,
" richly caparisoned. The Prince of Poland, and Bishop

the greater part were transferred to the service of Bethlem, and proceeded with only

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" of Cassovia, with several Greek princes followed;
" but Bethlem, ever tenacious of his rank, had just
" quarrelled with the King of Poland, for sending
" him a letter, in which the title of prince was omitted;
" a disrespect, he observed, that neither the Emperor
" nor the King of Hungary, or other great princes had
" ever offered, and that Ladislaus had no right to af-
" fect. On the part of the Grand Signor, arrived a
" bashaw, with a splendid train of three hundred
" Turks and Tartars. For the bashaw, the prince sent
" his state-coach, a hundred noble cavaliers, and
" five hundred halberdiers, who conducted the ambas-
" sador to his lodgings, with flutes, and drums, and
" martial instruments. From the Sultan he received
" three horses with gold trappings, and thirteen Turk-
" ish slaves; by three of whom he was presented with
" three magnificent habits, the one of cloth of gold,
" and two of cloth of silver. The other seven
" offered the *most* costly stuffs that Turkey could
" produce. Enchanted with this magnificence, Bethlem
" gave a splendid feast to the bashaw, but took the
" place of honour at his own table; and, to the aston-
" ishment of more polished guests, drank his mas-
" ter's health without uncovering his head. But
" this chief, ever wary, began to reflect that the ba-
" shaw might chuse to stickle for precedence with
" the imperial ambassador, who was hourly expect-
" ed; that even at the best they would be ill-as-

two officers to the Turkish frontier, purposely to confer with an emissary of the

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" sorted for good company; added to which, the Turks " had come in such numbers, as might appal the Chris- " tian believer. No sooner had the idea occurred, than " with his wonted adroitness, he determined to invent a " pretext for getting rid of his Mahometan intruders. " He therefore announced to the bashaw, with a " mournful aspect, that he had received sad intelli- " gence of his fair bride, who when arrived within a " day's journey of Cassovia, had sickened of the small " pox; that in consequence of this calamity, he should " instantly hasten to meet her company, and watch " over her recovery. That the time of his return be- " ing uncertain, he could not desire his serenity to " sacrifice so much of his precious time to his grati- " fication, more especially as it was now doubtful whe- " ther his rejoicing was not to be converted into mourn- " ing. The phlegmatic Turk received the intimation " with perfect composure; and instantly set out on his " return for Constantinople, leaving Bethlem overjoyed " at his departure. On the following day, arrived in " great state, the ambassadors of the King of Hun- " gary, and of the Duke of Bavaria, with a train of " lords; for whom Bethlem sent six carriages, and " two thousand cavalry, who, with lighted torches, con- " ducted the illustrious guests to the palace; round " which they remained standing on arms, during " the livelong night. The imperial ambassador pre-

Porte, by whom he was commissioned to make a proposal to the senate of Venice for

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" sented the chief with a chain of diamonds, valued
" at sixty thousand rix dollars. From the King of
" Hungary, he received a single jewel, worth two
" thousand rix-dollars. On the part of the Elector of
" Bavaria, he was complimented with a font of gold,
" most exquisitely wrought; whilst the Elector of Co-
" logne presented a golden eagle, in which, with cu-
" rious mechanism, a clock was inclosed. The pre-
" sents he had received are said to have trebled the
" amount of his expenditure on the wedding. Scarcely
" had Bethlem regaled his new guests with a splendid
" feast, than the approach of the princess was announc-
" ed; and the chief and the greater part of his company
" went to meet her, gallantly attended by infantry and
" cavalry, and fifteen hundred Hungarians, in an uni-
" form of blue and silver; and five hundred musquet-
" eers, in scarlet, faced with white and gold; besides
" an innumerable multitude of nobles and cavaliers.
" It was in a wide plain, half a league from Cassovia,
" that the meeting of the two parties was to take place;
" and there was pitched tents of rich cloth, to
" which were added pavilions of velvet and gold, de-
" corated with a most superb royal standard. No
" sooner did the prince perceive that his lady's coach
" had stopt, than he alighted; upon which the lady
" descended from her carriage, approached with becom-
" ing timidity, and, almost bending to the earth, raised

commencing a new series of hostilities against Austria. Alone and unsupported, he relied

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" to her lips the hand which he silently extended. " Without either compliment or salutation, Bethlem led " Catherine to the grand pavilion, in which they con- " versed together, probably by the aid of an interpreter, " during a full hour. The mutual impression could " only be divined, since Bethlem was too wary, the lady " too well tutored, to betray her feelings. The prince " was then fifty-four, of the middle stature, fair and " sanguine, and might have appeared mild and gra- " cious, but for the flowing brown beard, which he " obstinately continued to cherish. The princess was " then in her nineteenth year, of a light and graceful " form, with dark hair and eyes, a ruddy complexion, " with hands and arms of dazzling whiteness. That " she possessed beauty, is evident, since it is pre- " tended that she converted to a charm the de- " plorable defect of an hesitation in her speech, and " that this impediment to conversation served but " to render her more interesting. Fortunately, the " Duchess of Brunswick (the spouse of Duke Ulric), " came in a royal equipage sufficiently splendid " to satisfy the fastidious Bethlem; and under her " eye the marriage ceremony was performed the same " evening at Cassovia, in the presence of all the am- " bassadors. During several days there was a con- " stant succession of festivities. Bethlem invited, and " almost commanded his guests to suggest or invent

on his own genius to raise another storm against the tyranny of Austria, not less terrible, and overwhelming than that which had been lately dispersed. This evil, however, was averted by a circumstance trivial in itself, but of which the consequences were important to Europe. A neglected cold, from which Mansfeld began to experience no serious effects until he had reached the last village in Dalmatia, arrested his projects of ambition and vengeance, and in a few days conducted him to an inglorious and almost unknown grave.

" amusement. Tilting, running at the ring, wrestling, " dancing, all succeeded by turns. But a species of " buffoonery, not only sanctioned, but commanded by " Bethlem, was the next day resented by that ca- " pricious chief, who, in jousting gave a mortal wound " to the gay cavalier who had unwittingly offended his " pride or suspicion. Notwithstanding this sally of " jealousy and petulance, Catherine of Brandenbourg " lived in amity with her redoubtable Lord, at whose " death she found herself the happy mistress of a " splendid portion, which she bestowed, with her per- " son, on a gallant young soldier, by whom she was, " perhaps, treated with less liberality than she had " experienced from Bethlem Gabor."

Thus perished in his fiftieth year, that celebrated soldier, who more than any commander of modern times, reminds us of the independent chiefs of ancient Greece and Italy. Born without patrimony, he stooped not to accept a principality from the tyrant he abhorred. Contemning pomp, abhorring constraint, he chose not, like Wallenstein, to reside in magnificent solitude; nor, like Bethlem, would submit to thraldom for a permanent and extended dominion. Educated at Venice, where the citizens, without political rights, enjoyed, from usage, ease and security, he neither valued nor understood the principles of civil liberty, but as connected with classical or romantic associations. He chose rather to be distinguished as the first captain of the age, than as a petty potentate, and was more eager to attack legitimate tyrants, than to see himself enrolled in their number.

It was perhaps owing to the insulation of his early youth that Mansfeld disclaimed all but military friendships; yet in his last

moments he was so far from testifying affection to ancient comrades or familiar companions, that he bequeathed whatever property he possessed to the state of Venice. His master passion, the love of singularity and independence, prevailed even in the hour of death; when he insisted on being dressed in the uniform which he had been accustomed to wear on the day of battle; and, like the more generous Christian of Brunswick, gave his last sigh to the mortifying reflection, that he had not been permitted to fall in the field of glory.

Elizabeth appears to have imbibed from Frederic strong prejudices against Mansfeld, which experience probably taught her to correct. In contrasting his conduct with the vacillation or defection of others, on whom she had placed implicit reliance, she was forced to admit, that, with the exception of Christian of Brunswick, none had served her more ably and faithfully than Mansfeld. Of her uncle, the King of Denmark, she could not but

remember, that, like her father, he had withheld his aid when it would have been decidedly effective; nor was she slow to perceive, that whatever influence she possessed with Buckingham it was alone obtained by offering allurements to his ambition. And so mutable were the passions of that aspiring noble, that not even ambition could give consistency to his conduct; a political rivalry had impelled him to take the Prince of Wales to Spain, which a personal pique provoked him to quit in disgust. Personal vanity led him to Paris, to negociate the marriage of Charles and Henrietta; and to the same passion must be ascribed the preposterous gallantry which he affected for Anne of Austria. The repulse which he received at the court of France served but to stimulate his presumption; and, to be revenged of Louis and Richelieu, he sacrificed, without compunction, not only the interests of Elizabeth, but the welfare of his country; embroiled England with France; deserted the brave Hugo-

nots, whom he affected to protect; and involved his personal friends and partizans in disappointment and disgrace. It is not improbable but that Buckingham, when too late, became sensible of his error; and perhaps meant to repair it; the hand of an assassin arrested his purpose. He fell in the pride of youth, but the wane of reputation; leaving the Palatine family entirely at the mercy of the bigotted Ferdinand; who, in 1629, saw his despotism established in the north of Europe; the Dukes of Mecklenburgh and Brunswick expatriated*;

* In the Mercure Francois, pour l'an 1627, the friendship of Christian for the King and Queen of Bohemia is said to have brought ruin on the House of Brunswick.—"On the 6th of May, died Duke Chris-"tian, at Wolfenbuttle in Brunswick, a young prince "of the Lutheran communion, who, by his active par-"ticipation in the affairs of the Elector Palatine, has "brought ruin on the House of Brunswick (so long "pre-eminent among the princes of Lower Saxony), "and on his bishopric of Halberstadt. The misfor-"tunes of a royal house follow in rapid succession; "the Duchess of Brunswick survived her son but one "month; the defeat of his uncle, the King of Den-"mark, followed; and, finally, his brother, Duke

King Christian dispossessed of Holstein, and chased into Denmark. * The enterprising genius of Mansfeld was no longer feared; the banner of Brunswick was no more displayed; but the spirit of Count Thurn was not to be extinguished. A gleam of light shot from the North, and a new hero was about to arise, to vindicate the common cause of mankind, and watch over the interests of Europe.

" Ulric, had no alternative but to cede his States to " his kinsman, George, the reigning Duke of Bruns- " wick Lunenburgh. Such is the mutability of human " affairs, and thus doth the glory of this world pass " away."

* At the congress of Lubec, Christian of Lubec not only acquiesced in the translation of the electorate from his nephew to the Duke of Bavaria, but submitted to the proscription of the Duke of Mecklenburg, his ally, who had incurred the Emperor's displeasure, by fidelity to the King of Denmark. — See Schiller's Thirty Years' War.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE DOMESTIC HISTORY OF FREDERIC AND ELIZABETH. — VARIOUS EVENTS FROM 1628 TO 1633.

THE four years that succeeded to the death of Christian of Brunswick, were probably the most gloomy that Elizabeth had ever experienced. Hitherto hopes and fears had alternately succeeded to each other; but from the year 1626, all assumed a melancholy aspect. The untimely death of Buckingham *, the estrangement or indifference evinced by her royal brother, the discreditable treaty with Spain, in which her interests were virtually relinquished; the deprecatory language adopted at Vienna, in behalf of her husband and children, by

* Assassinated by Felton.

the ambassadors of Charles the First — all conspired to confirm in her mind, the mournful conviction that she had little to expect from her connexion with one of the greatest monarchs in Europe. With this impression, it was natural that she should concur with the wishes of Frederic in withdrawing to Rheten, in the province of Utrecht, where they could more frugally maintain a diminutive court, and without provoking that derision to which they must have been subjected at the Hague. In this retreat they occupied themselves with their garden, their villa, and an extensive correspondence. Their favourite pastime was the chase; and in one of these excursions, the queen's courage was put to the proof by a party of Spanish chasseurs; who, without suspecting her rank, pursued the fair huntress with such ardour, that, but for the fleetness of her steed, they must have obtained possession of her person.*

* See Wotton's Letters.

In this privacy, the misfortunes of Frederic would have been remembered only by his personal friends, but for the oppression which Ferdinand continued to exercise on the fallen Calvinists. Emboldened by desperation, the remnant of the persecuted Piccardites *, who had escaped to Thabor, again invoked the name of their former protector. Kotter and Christina resumed their prophetic functions; and a book of visions, written in the Bohemian language, was translated into high Dutch by a celebrated didactic writer (well known for his elementary tracts on education), the learned Commenius †; who took a journey to the Hague, for the express purpose of demonstrating to Frederic that the oracle was not mute which had formerly announced to him the career of victory and glory. In the first page, Frederic recognized, even through the medium of an elegant transla-

* Or Hussites.

† The prophet was afterwards subjected to a rigorous punishment by the Imperial Government.

tion, the inflated language of the prophet, who, in the Spring of 1620, had hailed his arrival in Silesia — through which he was then making a triumphant progress with Abraham Scultetus. It was not without pain that Frederic recalled the recollection of that brilliant moment; the more, perhaps, that his spiritual director no longer lived to soften his regrets, or rebuke his despondence. A few months before this period Scultetus had died at the Hague, where he was still idolized by the Contra-Remonstrants, and certain fanatical visionaries, who anticipated the establishment of an universal evangelical church, not less triumphant than that of the church of Rome, and equally exclusive. The native pride or generosity of Frederic, prompted him to offer to Commenius a remuneration, better suited to his spirit than his fortunes; but, too well instructed by adversity to indulge chimerical hopes of greatness, his political object was now limited to the recovery of his Electoral dominions, and he occupied

his mind in giving his children an education worthy of their talents, and not unsuited to their station. Since his arrival at the Hague, three sons and two daughters had been added to his domestic circle. Elizabeth had left in Germany, Charles Louis, her second son, her daughter, Elizabeth, and Maurice, to the care of Juliana, and her excellent daughter, Catherine, who resided in the March of Brandenburgh. Henry Frederic, the Prince of Bohemia, had been previously sent to Utrecht, from whence he was transferred to the village of Leyden, where, under the celebrated Gerard Vossius, he already unfolded such various talents, as excited the most flattering anticipations. In due time, his brothers, Charles Louis, Rupert, and Maurice were subjected to the same scholastic discipline.* Hitherto the education of Henry had been so judiciously conducted, that although his quick parts and unremitted diligence, called

* See Letters and Negociations of Sir Thomas Roe.

forth admiration, even from those who recollected the childhood of Hugo Grotius, he was neither presuming nor intractable; and actually fell far short of his own ideal standard of excellence. When only eight years old, he conversed with fluency in French, English, Italian, German, and Bohemian, and assiduously applied to his Latin studies. By his mother he was, at that early age, encouraged to epistolary correspondence with his brothers and sisters, of which specimens remain, that are interesting from their simplicity and good feeling.* On the arrival of his mother at the Hague, he announces to the same correspondent

* The following was his brief account of the journey from Prague: —

"Dear and heartily beloved brother, I have taken "a long journey from Prague to the Netherlands; and "am now in Friesland, with Count Ernest, of Nassau. "I hear that Spinola has been wounded, but is not "dead. I entreat you to present my most dutiful "remembrance to my grandmother; and dearest love "to my sister.

"*November*, 1620."

that their infant brother Maurice was left at Berlin; but that Rupert was with them "blythe and well, *safe and sound;*" and that the first sentence he had articulated was in the Bohemian tongue; signifying, "*Praise the Lord.*"

Not long after, he mentions, in another epistle, having paid a visit to Leyden, where he heard a long discourse from an Arabic professor, of which he adds, with unaffected simplicity, "I could not understand a single "word." In the letters addressed to his aunt Catherine, the style is more studied, and encumbered with German formalities; but the same feeling heart is constantly displayed. He repeatedly mentions his sister Elizabeth; and adds, with affecting earnestness, "I wish for nothing so much as "that I may see her again, with all happy "things around her, at dear Heidelberg.

"I beg your Highness to accept with this "a pair of gloves and a silver pen — would "it were better for your sake! I beseech "you to present my friendly greeting to

" my cousin Catherine, and to my sister
" Elizabeth a true-hearted brotherly kiss,
" to whom I send also the inclosed trinket
" — a little heart — in token of my fond,
" faithful, fraternal love."* To Charles he wrote, soon after, that he desired most earnestly to see him, but that he feared the interview would yet be long deferred, since Heidelberg was besieged; and, he adds, with much solemnity, " I trust you omit
" not to pray diligently, as I do both day
" and night, that it may please God to re-
" store us to happiness and to each other.
" I have a bow and arrow, with a beautiful
" quiver, tipt with silver, which I would
" fain send you, but that I fear it may fall
" into the enemy's hands."†

In the progress of this juvenile correspondence, the young Henry often manifested a lively solicitude for his brother's improvement. Of his sister Elizabeth, he had soon to learn, that she was even more distinguished than himself by extraordinary at-

* Moser's Patriotisch. Archiv. † Ibid.

tainments. No jealousy appears to have ever disturbed this fraternal union, nor did the studies of Henry induce him to forego those exercises and recreations which are conducive to health, cheerfulness, and activity. Frederic and Elizabeth had wisely adopted for their children a simple plan of education, by which they were inured to labour and fatigue, and accustomed to depend on their own exertions for praise and distinction. The result of this system was such as might have been expected; and their family produced not merely the most distinguished princes, but some of the best informed and most ingenious persons in Europe. Of these, the eldest son and daughter, Henry Frederic and Elizabeth, were decidedly superior to the other children: the former composed verses in various languages; and whether he rode, fenced, or conversed, was constantly animated by the desire of excellence. Already distinguished by a passion for military exercises, the sedate Henry Frederic delighted his great uncle Maurice, almost as much as

the vivacious little Rupert gratified his mother Elizabeth.

In the meanwhile, to expand his mind, and to supply new objects for his active imagination, Frederic associated his eldest son in all his various excursions by land or water, whether it were to the camp, to Bois le Duc, to Breda, or any other place of extraordinary interest. The arrival of Baron Christopher d'Hona, the former ambassador of Frederic, was highly conducive to the improvement of his family. Deprived of his estates, this accomplished nobleman, who, it will be recollected, had espoused the sister of Amelia Solms, obtained through her interest an honourable appointment, as governor of Orange. The presence of his wife was equally acceptable to Elizabeth, to whom she was tenderly attached; and, in the various excursions which were made by Frederic for the recreation and improvement of his children, the Baron and Baroness d'Hona were their inseparable companions. In the year 1629, they had shared in the usual fes-

tivities at the christening of Charlotte*, the third daughter, to whom Elizabeth had given birth since her residence in Holland, and of whom the Duchess of Richmond and the Electress of Brandenburgh were the female sponsors.

The naval victories lately obtained by that great naval hero of Holland, Peter Heins, was then the theme of universal felicitation; and Henry Frederic, by whom the republic was justly cherished as an adopted country, earnestly entreated permission to accompany his father to the sea of Haarlem, purposely to see the Spanish galleons, which were the trophies of Batavian triumph. Elizabeth, though incapable of joining the party, parted from him with smiles, and was pleased to mark the correspondence in tastes and character between her son and her lamented brother. It was not until the evening that the princes arrived in the Zuydersee, which was covered with vessels of every descrip-

* The elder sisters were Louisa, born in 1622, and Henrietta Maria, born in 1626. Charlotte died in childhood.

tion, attracted by the same spectacle. As they approached the object of their research, their yacht, becoming entangled with a vessel of far superior bulk, was in a moment sunk and buried in the waves. The King of Bohemia, clinging to a rope, with some difficulty reached a boat that had been launched to his assistance; but all efforts to preserve Henry Frederic were vain.* "Save me, father, save me!" were the last words that fell from his lips, ere he sunk to rise no more, leaving his parent in a state of anguish that mocks description. His companions sympathized deeply in his grief. Elizabeth alone, by whom the trial was sustained with even more than her wonted fortitude, administered consolation to her distracted husband; and, after the first violence of passion, the mournful subject was by both parents dismissed to silence, though not to oblivion. The untimely fate of this promising youth excited universal sympathy. Se-

* See Mémoires du Baron Christopher d'Hona, par Spanheim.

veral classical pens offered a tribute to his memory.* Even the people, to whom he

* The following Paraphrase of the Epitaph by David Paræus, on Henry Frederic, is from a young lady, to whom the author is indebted for similar contributions to "Mary Stuart:"—

"Whoe'er thou art, that now, with pensive tread,
Seek'st the dark mansion of the princely dead,
Arrest thy footstep — bid thy sorrows flow,
And in sad accents speak the tale of woe.
'Here,' mournful tell, 'the cold remains have rest
Of him, a nation's hope, the young, the blest.
Young but in years, for wisdom's light was shed
In noonday brightness o'er that peerless head.
Well his sire's throne, his mother's line to grace,
Sprang the loved scion of a mighty race.
Where now that tender joy? in billows wild
The raging waters closed above their child:
Scarce fifteen years the precious boon was lent,
When fate, relentless, her dark mandate sent.'
Oh; thou, too sadly doomed from all to part,
Light of each eye, trust of a people's heart,
The spark of life though quenched beneath the wave,
Thy spirit sleeps not in its early grave:
Mounting it soared, high sped its eagle flight,
And dwells rejoicing in a world of light."

The death of Henry Frederic gave occasion to many invidious misrepresentations concerning Frederic. It was pretended by the ministerial party in

had been endeared from the moment that they saw him march in the funeral procession of Maurice, deplored his loss, and respected the sorrows of his parents.

During two years after this catastrophe, Frederic appears to have surrendered the management of his political affairs exclusively to Elizabeth and his secretary, Rusdorf; hopeless of redress, and, perhaps, mistaking dejection for resignation, he no longer interested himself in the various memorials, which, by the advice of Charles the First, were repeatedly presented to the Emperor; and, when his brother-in-law sent Sir Henry Vane to persuade Elizabeth to accept Ferdinand's proposal, namely, to allow her son, Charles Louis, to be educated as a Catholic at Vienna, she exclaimed with indignation, that "rather

England, that he cared only for money, and that he had hazarded his son's life by embarking with him in a common packet-boat. Nothing could be more false or preposterous than the charge of parsimony when brought against Frederic and Elizabeth; yet this paltry detraction is repeated in Howell's Letters.

" than stoop to such an act of meanness, " she would, with her own hands, become " her son's executioner." *

Ferdinand had lately convoked a diet at Ratisbon, where he appeared in the novel character of a suitor for electoral favour. Influenced by the natural solicitudes of a parent, to secure the succession to his eldest son, he condescended to address the assembly, not, as before, in the tone of an arbitrary despot, but with the conciliatory language of a candidate, beseeching them to elect his son, Ferdinand, King of Hungary and Bohemia. By the agency of Wallenstein, the Emperor had obtained a complete triumph over the Protestant confede-

* It was, perhaps, the heroic spirit of Elizabeth that prompted Charles the First to say, somewhat coarsely, as Mr Lodge remarks, " that the grey mare was " the better horse." Charles did little justice to his brother-in-law, in supposing he was more flexible than his consort. If Frederic possessed not the magnanimity of Elizabeth, he was at least too conscientiously devoted to his religion, to become a willing accessary to the apostasy of his son, even for the reversion of an empire. (See his letter in the Cabala, addressed to King James.)

racy; and, not content with the abolition of Bohemian privileges, with the translation of an electorate, and the proscription of the Calvinists, he had passed an edict of restitution, reclaiming, by virtue of a retrospective law, whatever ecclesiastical property had been ceded to the Protestants since 1552—a measure than which nothing could be more offensive to the whole body of German Protestants. The Lutherans, who, with criminal passiveness, had witnessed the ruin of a rival sect, at which they had previously triumphed, now caught the alarm; and the Elector of Saxony, so lately obsequious and submissive, put himself at the head of the malcontents. But not from them only did Ferdinand meet with opposition to his will. Jealous of the power of Wallenstein, who had been elevated to the rank of a prince of the empire, and in pomp and state outshone every elector present, even Maximilian of Bavaria, in measured but determined language, prescribed rules to his sovereign, inveighed against the vices of

military despotism, expatiated, like a poor patriot, on the distresses of the people, and, forgetting all he had himself inflicted on the inhabitants of the Upper Palatinate, demanded, in the name of the German commonwealth, the dismissal of the commander-in-chief.

Such was the tenor of the declaration made by Maximilian, at the Diet of Ratisbon, which Ferdinand had convened for the express purpose of collecting the electoral suffrages in favour of his eldest son, whom he was anxious to invest with the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia, previous to procuring his nomination as King of the Romans. At any other moment he would have repelled with disdain the remonstrance offered by a prince, for whose aggrandizement he had violated laws, rights, and ancient usage; but at this juncture the parent prevailed over the tyrant, the bigot, or even the politician; regardless of his obligations to the Duke of Fridland, by whose exertions his authority had been established, he deposed, without hesitation, the commander-

in-chief, but to mortify Maximilian, who had hoped to succeed him in that dignity, he disbanded those forces which had held the Protestants in subjection. More sagacious than his master, Wallenstein foresaw the consequences of this rashness; and, smothering his resentment, anticipated with confidence a future triumph. In like manner, Maximilian, dissembling his chagrin at having missed the supreme command of the troops, affected to have made a painful effort for the redemption of his country. And thus did the selfish passions of two ambitious men extract a blessing for the commonwealth, for which patriots had sighed, and heroes bled in vain.

Encouraged by Maximilian's example, the Elector of Saxony addressed a spirited remonstrance against the edict of restitution, but found his application wholly disregarded; piqued by neglect, the pusillanimous prince, who had witnessed with indifference the ruin of the Calvinists, directed his attention to the enemies of Ferdinand; whilst

Count Thurm, like the genius of German liberty, called to her aid another champion, who, but for the dispersion of Wallenstein's army, would have been inadequate to the enterprize. The critical moment was perceived by Richelieu*, who sent an envoy to whisper something encouraging in the ear of Gustavus. Already had this mission been anticipated by Sir Thomas Rowe, who had lately been employed in the adjustment of Danish affairs, and *now or never* was the secret murmur of every Protestant without or within the empire.

"That a certain realm of Sweden ex-
"isted," says Schmidt, "that certain people,
"in a manner identified with the Fins and
"Laplanders, inhabited those regions bor-
"dering on Germany, was a fact well esta-

* Richelieu, now omnipotent in France, commissioned Charnac to encourage Gustavus to invade Germany. Sir Thomas Rowe, who had been sent to the King of Denmark, was equally urgent. Count Thurm, whose eldest son had been in the service of the Swedish monarch, was still more vehement. The secret intrigues of George John of Saxony concurred powerfully with these predisposing inducements.

"blished in the northern states, but in "the southern provinces scarcely recollect- "ed; and never had this realm of Sweden "possessed the smallest influence in the po- "licy, civil or domestic, of our great conti- "nent; nor could the Protestants look for "any efficient relief from a country so far "removed from the political centre of Eu- "rope." It should, however, be recollect- ed that Gustavus*, to whom this very cir- cumstance was calculated to suggest an ad-

* Gustavus was now in the infancy of his fame. Born in 1594, he was the grandson of Gustavus Erick- son, or Vasa, the deliverer of Sweden. His father was Charles, Duke of Sudermania. The third son of Gus- tavus Vasa, John, the elder brother of Charles, had transmitted the sceptre to a son by whom the constitu- tion of Sweden was grossly violated; in consequence of which, Charles, the father of Gustavus, was elected; by whom, according to Harte, proposals were made for a marriage between his son Gustavus and the Prin- cess Elizabeth. Gustavus appears to have been in a great degree self-educated. In his early years he tra- velled to Italy, and is said to have been for a short time a student in Padua. Inured to hardship from his childhood, he was expert in all the exercises which belong to war, and ambitious of fame. — See Harte's Gustavus Adolphus.

ditional motive for interference, had already made to the princes of the union several overtures, which were rejected for those of Christian of Denmark; after whose disastrous defeat, it could scarcely be expected that any other northern potentate should vindicate the liberties of Protestant Germany. It was, probably, with this conviction that Ferdinand, when he consented to divest Wallenstein of his command, refused to transfer it to any other prince of the empire; but little could his narrow mind conceive the genius, or calculate the resources possessed by Gustavus. No sooner had the hero concluded a glorious peace with Denmark and Poland, than, incited by the bold counsels of Thurn, seconded by Rowe and Charnacè, and with the concurrence of his own council, he resolved to transfer the seat of war to Germany, and to curb the insolence of the princes of Austria, whose preponderance was incompatible with the tranquillity and security of Europe. The object of his enterprize had been already communicated to

the British monarch; but as that prince was then negociating with Ferdinand, he declined entering into any direct treaty with Gustavus, but authorized his kinsman, the Marquis of Hamilton, to furnish 6000 men, who, raised in his name, but, in reality, maintained at the king's expence, were to join the Swedish army.

At its commencement, the invasion of Gustavus was treated by the court of Vienna with contempt. The Prince of Orange feared to encourage the hopes of Elizabeth; and to Frederic, who too well recollected Mansfeld's last campaign, it appeared but another flattering dream. In a few months, however, it became apparent that the new star of the north was something more than a splendid meteor passing along the horizon. After having subdued Pomerania, and secured the alliance of Brandenburgh, Saxony, and Hesse, he advanced towards the Rhine*,

* "His Majestie crossing the Rhine, did take "with him the Scots which were there of Sir James "Ramsey's regiment, of old Spense his regiment, and

and, in an eloquent speech, declared himself the champion of Elizabeth of Britain,

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" of my Lord Rhee's. Being landed, the Spanish " horsemen having furiously charged, the Scots, with " a little advantage of a hedge, stood by his Majestie " against the Spanish horsemen, and, with a strong " body of pikes, and salves of musket, resisted valiant- " ly the horsemen till the rest were landed to relieve " them. As also, the next day, the musketeres of " Ramsey's regiment, that on all occasions were wont " to shew their valour, were the first who stormed the " walles at Oppenhés; as they were the first, with " their camerades, that accompanied his Majestie at " his landing in the Paltz, testifying how willing they " were to oppose danger in sight of their king and " master, revenging themselves on the Spaniard (a " cruell enemy to the daughter of our king, and sister " to our dread soveraigne, the Queene of Bohemia), " whom before they had removed, by force of armes, " from the sweete land of the Paltz, where at this time " they were fighting, to invest againe his Majestie of " Bohemia, her husband, and his royal issue, being " under the conduct of the Lyon of the North, the in- " vincible King of Sweden, their leader; who was care- " lesse (as he said himselfe that night) to incurre the " feude, or the enmity and anger, both of the house " of Austria and King of Spaine, to doe service to his " deere sister the Queene of Bohemia. Who would " not, then, my deere comerades, companions, not of

for whose sake he promised to reinstate Frederic in his paternal dominions.

" want, but of valour and courage, at such a time, " being the time we all of us longed to see; who would " not (I say) presse to discharge the dutie of valour- " ous souldiers and captaines, in sight of their master " and king, having crossed the Rhine, fighting for the " qüeene of souldiers, being led by the king of cap- " taines, and captaine of kings? Who would not, then, " as true valorous Scots, with heart and hand sustaine " the fight, discharging at once the duty of souldiers " and valourous captaines; by that meanes, so far as " in them laye, restoring the Paltz, contemning death, " striving to get victory over their enemies, and free- " dome of conscience to their distressed brethren, long " kept in bondage, and under tyranny of their ene- " mies, the space of ten yeares, till the coming of this " magnanimous king and great captaine; who, in six " months' time after, did free the Paltz of all Spanish " forces, setting them at libertie, having brought the " keyes of all goales with him, and opened the doores, " not only of all prisons, but also of all houses and " churches in the Paltz, that had been closed ten " yeares before, through the banishment of the owners, " bringing them backe to their houses againe; and " having removed the idolatrous worship of Papists " out of their churches, suffered them againe to serve " God peaceably in their former, true, undoubted, and " onely pure profession of the faith of Christ's Gos- " pell." — *Monro's Expedition.*

Hitherto, Frederic had submitted implicitly to Charles, who, following his father's system, carried on double negociations with the Emperor and the King of Sweden; with the latter, he continued to decline entering into any ostensible treaty. The troops raised by the Marquis of Hamilton had not yet joined the army; and, unfortunately, Charles determined on sending Sir Henry Vane, instead of Sir Thomas Rowe, to treat with Gustavus. This substitution was unfortunate for Frederic. The prevarication of the British Minister excited in the Swedish hero a disgust, that in some degree appears to have influenced his subsequent conduct; and, perceiving the insincerity of the British Monarch, he resolved not to be outwitted by his envoy: but this prejudice did not materially alter his sentiments toward the Palatine family; he already knew and respected Juliana and her daughter, the Electress of Brandenburgh; and had learned from Rowe, to admire the courage and honourable feeling of Elizabeth;

when Frederic, therefore, sent a messenger to Frankfort, to congratulate Gustavus on his success, that monarch immediately despatched an answer to the Hague, to invite, and even to urge him to proceed to Germany. Once more, then, was that prince to separate from his consort and his family, to whom a daughter, named Sophia, had been lately added, who promised to be the fairest flower of his house; but neither this auspicious circumstance, nor the decided talents of his other children, could efface from his mind, the gloomy impressions produced by his son's untimely death. It was, however, with sincere satisfaction that he accompanied his friend, Baron D'Hona to Leyden, to be present at the public collegiate examination of the students, at which his sons, Charles and Rupert, challenged universal admiration. This was the last time Frederic ever saw them. Previous to his departure for Germany, he addressed to the states his grateful acknowledgments for that munificent friendship, which he had so long

experienced; and having solemnly consigned his wife and children to their future protection, bade them farewell with an air that intimated he scarcely expected to return. The States received the address with their accustomed kindness; nor was he allowed to quit the Hague without an escort of two thousand five hundred men, independent of a party of British volunteers, than whom none displayed more gallantry than William Lord Craven, a young nobleman who had been several years in the service of the States, which he relinquished purposely, to follow the fortunes of Frederic and Elizabeth. The succeeding events of that nobleman's life have led to the surmise, that, like Christian of Brunswick, he was drawn to Frederic's standard by a romantic passion for his noble-minded consort. But it is unnecessary to resort to ideas so vague and conjectural, to discover motives for this adventure in a young soldier, who was full of enthusiasm, eager for action, and impassioned for glory. From his ancestors he

had derived wealth unaccompanied by hereditary dignities; and though indebted to his father for a splendid patrimony, was, himself, the first of his race who ennobled his name. Descended from a Yorkshire family, who, during the feuds of the two Roses, had been reduced to indigence, it was reserved for this nobleman's father to be the architect of his own fortune; with no other patrons than diligence and probity, he entered a draper's service, and from that humble origin, rose progressively, to the highest civil honours. It is a pleasing trait of the dignified importance which was in that age attached to the mercantile character, that this meritorious yeoman should not only have accumulated a princely fortune, but that his two daughters were united to noblemen, and his three sons familiarly associated with men of the first rank in Britain *.

* Sir William Craven died in 1818, and such was the wealth he had accumulated, that, exclusive of the portions which he had given in marriage with his two

From childhood, the young Sir William had aspired to military reputation, nor were his inclinations thwarted by parental authority. At seventeen, he entered the service of the Prince of Orange; and, on the accession of Charles the First, was ennobled by the title of Lord Craven, Baron of Hempstead Marshall.* Superior to the vulgar ambition, which can rest satisfied with rank and power, Lord Craven aspired to fame, and the first, if not the only object of his pursuit, was glory. The enterprize of Gustavus presented an irresistible attraction to the gallant spirits of the age. There were, already, six thousand Britons enrolled in that monarch's service, and he was accustomed to include them in the number of

daughters, and the liberal provision which he had made for his younger sons, he bequeathed to his heir a property more than adequate to the maintenance of any rank to which he might be elevated by his sovereign. See Collins's Peerage of England, by Sir Egerton Brydges.

* The reversion of which barony was secured to his two brothers, John and Thomas Craven.

his choice and honourable soldiers. During the last two years the camp of Gustavus had been the most attractive school of war in Europe; and from whatever country came the young volunteer, he was sure to find compatriots among his comrades. The Scottish and the Irish were more numerous than the English, who, in general, preferred the service of the Prince of Orange. The persecuted Hugonots flocked thither in crowds; and by all, whether British or French, it was considered the nursery of heroes.*

The character of Gustavus was equally formed to delight the chivalric youth, or captivate the sedate politician. Having entered Germany rather as a mediator than a conqueror, his great aim was to conciliate men of whatsoever sect or nation, to inspire

* These troops were distinct from those under the Marquis Hamilton, who, by a series of mischances, appear to have effected nothing at all worthy of themselves, or the cause in which they were engaged. A particular account of the misunderstanding may be collected from Harte's Gustavus Adolphus; but it is altogether foreign to the subject of this work.

confidence in the citizens, and, in the midst of war, to establish order and tranquillity. Of all who had hitherto advocated the cause of the reformers, Gustavus alone was sufficiently liberal and enlightened to consider the interests of the whole community, without reference to sects or party. Mansfeld had been an adventurer; Duke Christian an enthusiast; the Margrave of Baden a visionary; Gustavus, alone, presented a champion, equally opposed to bigotry and superstition, — a conqueror, not a tyrant, — a statesman, not unprincipled, — and a hero who merited the gratitude of his own age, and challenged the approbation of posterity.

The expedition of Frederic was conducted under happy auspices; and having passed through Hesse, Hanau, and Wellerau, he finally arrived on the 10th of February at Frankfort; and the next morning, accompanied by Lord Craven, proceeded to Hochst, that town in which, ten years before, Christian of Brunswick had sustained the defeat so fatal to that cause, which

was now sustained by the great Gustavus. Eager to see his new champion, Frederic hastened to the King's lodgings, where he was welcomed with that cordial simplicity which was the peculiar charm of Gustavus. Habitually attentive to external circumstances, Frederic was surprised to discover no ensign of pomp or state in the presence of the Swedish monarch, although his camp was crowded with royal personages. At the first glance, however, Gustavus announced himself to be a hero. "Tall "and well-proportioned," says a contemporary, to whom he was well known*, "there was a majesty in his aspect, that at "once inspired awe and love; his com- "plexion was fair; his cheeks tinged with "a ruddy hue; his hair and beard were of "a yellow tint; his forehead expanded; "his nose aquiline; his eyes of a clear "bright blue, beaming with ardour and in-

* Gualdo.

" telligence. From infancy he had de-
" lighted in arms, and thirsted for fame;
" but in him enthusiasm was tempered with
" discretion, and in whatever undertaking
" he engaged, he pursued it with a steadi-
" ness that could alone result from sound
" judgment. Naturally eloquent, he embel-
" lished every subject on which he touched,
" and his conversation was ever animated
" and delightful. His self-possession never
" forsook him: never did he lose his vigil-
" ance, his quick penetration, his prompti-
" tude, and decision. In his demeanour,
" frankness united with firmness to inspire
" confidence. Never was there a chief who
" better knew how to win the affections, or
" compel the obedience of his soldiers;
" never was there a statesman who so rarely
" condescended to employ falsehood and
" duplicity in his communications with other
" men; never was there victor so prompt in
" seizing the advantages of success; so keen
" in the pursuit of conquest, or more acces-

" sible to the appeals of reason and humani-
" ty.*

" Affable in his manners, his conversation
" was familiar, cheerful, and even sportive;
" and it was often said, that he conquered
" not less by the tongue than the sword.
" In his familiar hours, all ceremony was
" disregarded; he welcomed his officers to
" his table, playfully observing that the feast
" answered better than the rack to extract
" secrets; as to compliments, they were fit
" only for the ladies. He enforced strict
" discipline, and often attached to his in-
" terests by kindness, those who were not
" to be won by gold."

Although Frederic had been prepossessed by Vane against Gustavus, he could not but be gratified by his delicate attentions. On the first day that he dined at his table, the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt having omitted to give him the title of majesty, the King of Sweden sternly rebuked the want of

* Gualdo's History of the Wars of Ferdinand the Second.

courtesy, which, in such a moment, might be identified with want of kindness. Not less attentive, and even more courteous, was the Queen of Sweden, who was already connected by marriage with the Palatine house.* Without talents or extraordinary beauty, this princess pleased by the feminine expression of modesty and sweetness imprinted on her countenance, which harmonized with the gentle, timid susceptibility of her character. Adoring her consort, by whom she was tenderly beloved, she had braved perils and fatigues to visit his camp†, and to snatch a momentary enjoyment of his presence. Naturally serious, Eleonora

* Her brother had married the Princess Charlotte Palatine; her elder sister was the widow of Ulric, Duke of Brunswick; her younger, the relict of Bethlem Gabor.

† This meeting of Gustavus and his Eleanora took place at Hanau, when, clasping the hero in her arms, she exclaimed, "Now then, is the great Gustavus "a prisoner!" — This simple expression of womanly enthusiasm was everywhere repeated with transport, and produced more effect than the most studied eloquence.

had imbibed from the spirit of the times a religious strictness, that seemed to recoil from participating in the most innocent amusements: but this scrupulosity was perhaps strengthened by her unceasing solicitude for Gustavus, whose danger was ever present to her imagination, and for whose sake she declined an invitation to a festival, observing that this was rather a season for prayer and humiliation, than for idle pastimes. It was impossible that Frederic should not be pleased with the King and Queen of Sweden; but, finding no steps taken to reinstate him in his dominions, he remarks, in a letter to Elizabeth, that he could not conceive for what purpose he had been brought from the Hague.* To increase his discon-

* In passing through Oppenheim, Frederic appears to have been painfully reminded of Elizabeth's bridal tour. "The place," he observes, "is now totally different from what you once saw it. I am resolved "to go to Mayence, because I shall have less difficulty "in receiving letters from you. I have once followed "the chace; but when I was coursing the hares, how "did I wish for you by my side. I subjoin what the

tent, Gustavus pleaded with earnestness for the free toleration of Lutheranism in the Palatinate. Educated in sectarian strictness, Frederic knew not how to reconcile himself to the innovations proposed by his royal friend. Amidst all these vexations, however, he experienced a flattering reception from his own subjects, who with tears of joy welcomed his return, and prayed for his final restoration. The first congratulations over, Gustavus proceeded to storm the strong fortress of Creuzenach, an enterprize almost exclusively performed by British volunteers; among whom Lord Craven was the first to mount the breach, and to plant the banner of victory. Charmed with his intrepidity, the King of Sweden exclaimed aloud, "I perceive, sir, you are

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"King of Sweden proposes." These conditions were not very favourable, since Frederic was required to give security for his fidelity to the King of Sweden; but it should be recollected, that prudence required that Gustavus should demand a guarantee of Frederic's future amity.

" willing to give a younger brother a chance " of coming to your title and estate." In this desperate service the young warrior received a wound, for which he deemed himself well recompensed by the suffrage of Gustavus. Equally gallant was his conduct at Donawert, which submitted also to the prowess of the Swede. After a series of successes, Frederic entered, with Gustavus, the town of Nuremburg*, where both

* Of this place, the historian Gualdo has left a curious and interesting description. Nuremburg was then one of the free imperial cities in Germany, governed by its own laws and constitutions, including its independent state. " It had been," says Gualdo, " originally a Roman town, and its antiquated " walls are still of astonishing strength. To this town " there are six massive gates, 1228 streets, ten squares; " the houses are all built of stone, with remarkably " deep casements. It is embellished by twelve foun- " tains. The river Pignitz, which washes its banks, " is applied to the useful purpose of turning sixty " mills, and over it are erected eleven stone bridges. " Within the circumference of these walls are twelve " hills, and four baths; and, among these, one mineral " spring. There are two parishes, and a population " of fifty thousand souls." Among the most remarkable public edifices, Gualdo mentions the " arsenal,

kings dined in public with the burghers. Rejecting the delicacies prepared on this

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" the town-hall, or state-room, and circus, sufficiently " spacious to contain eight thousand persons. Five " edifices were appropriated to the use of granaries. " Here, too, was shewn a part of the lance that pierced " our Saviour's side; and here also the iron crown of " Charlemagne. The government of this city," continues Gualdo, " is aristocratic, composed of ten sena- " tors, chosen from noble families; but the senate is " divided between plebeians and patricians. The " nobles are formed into two classes; the first, called " Nominati; the second, Bourgraves. Of these, three " are called consuls, and three scabini; of the nomi- " nati, four hundred live as nobles, not exercising any " mechanical art or profession, with the exception " of two or three eminently ingenious men, who have " become illustrious as artisans; inasmuch as two of " their signatures serve to authenticate any testament, " instead of six signatures, the number usually re- " quired." After a minute exposition of the constitution of the senate, he observes, truly, " It is not " without reason that the government of the repub- " lic of Nuremburg is esteemed the best in Germany, " or even in Europe, as the senate of Venice has " learnt to its cost during the present war." He then expatiates on the salubrity of the air, the ingenuity of the people, and their admirable inventions; in which he includes artillery, and various mechanical

occasion, Gustavus adhered to the plain diet of a soldier, but regaled the company with an admirable speech, enforcing the necessity of continual exertions against the common foe. He concluded with these memorable words: "God will not every "day send you such a preacher as I am, "who have a real desire to comfort and "help you, and to further your cause, as far "as God shall strengthen and enable me. "Have but patience and constancy to suffer "a little more, and your city shall increase "and flourish. Your renown shall spread "through the world, and we shall praise "God both now and for ever."

From Nuremburg the two kings ad-

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arts. He dwells on the politeness of the inhabitants, the masterly arrangements of the merchants, the facilities of the post, an advantage which Nuremburg enjoyed over all other cities. He bestows commendation on the inns, the wine, and the modes of life. The costume of the men was black cloth or velvet; the ladies were richly, but modestly, attired; and though they enjoyed unbounded liberty, were of unimpeachable modesty.

vanced to Donawert, where Lord Craven and the British volunteers again signalized their valour; and Gustavus publicly acknowledged his obligations to Sir John Hepburn.* Although Frederic did not serve in the army, he followed its movements, and witnessed the famous passage of the Lech; which has been classed with the most memorable of the King of Sweden's achievements. In vain did the veteran Tilly attempt to retard the progress of the illustrious Swede. It was no longer with a soldier of fortune, such as Mansfeld, or a chivalrous hero, like Christian of Brunswick, that he had to measure his strength, but with troops formed, disciplined, and inspirited by the first hero of the age.

A glorious triumph was achieved by the passage of the Lech; on which day Tilly received his death wound, bewailing that he had not rather died at the battle of Leipsic, in the arms of victory. This ve-

* See Swedish Intelligencer.

teran perished not alone; by a singular fatality, the son of an ancient enemy, the young Marquis of Baden Dourlach, whose father was also in the army, fell, mortally wounded, almost in the arms of Gustavus, who, perceiving the impression this circumstance had produced on the minds of his soldiers, exclaimed aloud, "That cannon "ball, which has so suddenly arrested the "career of a brave young hero, is a painful "remembrancer of our common mortality; "and, perhaps, I ought to consider it as a "warning of my own impending fate. "What remains, then, but that I submit "implicitly to the Supreme disposer of "events, not doubting but that, if God "should call me hence, he will raise up "some other chief, more valiant and more "wise, though not more firmly devoted "than myself, to complete the task which "I have attempted." In uttering these words, the hero seems unconsciously to have pronounced an oracle, too soon to be accomplished. But the momentary impres-

sion checked not his martial ardour — his passage to the grave was marked by a series of triumphs — and the last vestige of his steps was a ray of glory.

The distrust with which Frederic had sometimes contemplated Gustavus was probably subdued; and he appears, insensibly, to have yielded to him that confidence which the hero of the north, with the simplicity that belongs to true greatness, inspired in all who were admitted to his familiar intimacy. Frederic continued to breathe to Elizabeth his affectionate regrets; "Thanks "for your punctual letters, which convince "me I am not forgotten. Do not doubt "but that my thoughts are ever fixed on "you, whom I most passionately desire to "meet again, and ill can I endure the te- "dious uncertainty that awaits our move- "ments. We are now but two leagues "from Munich, from whence it is probable "my next may be dated. The duke has "withdrawn from thence: I do not, how- "ever, anticipate from this circumstance

"any accelerated decision in my affairs. "Mr. Vane is at Augsburgh.* We spent "one day at Fresingen, of which the situ- "ation is eminently beautiful; the palace "is nothing extraordinary, but the deer "come almost to its gates, and there is a "noble perspective, extending to the Ty- "rolese mountains and their snowy sum- "mits."

After censuring the temerity of Gustavus in communicating with Wallenstein, he observes of him, "'Tis an excellent prince, "and never can ennui be experienced in "his society. May God long preserve his "precious life!" In reverting to Charles the First, he expresses gratitude for his friendly intentions; but intimates, that the treaty with Sweden might long since have been adjusted, had the British agents been judicious and sincere. Having been apprized

* Vane came with instructions from Charles the First, not to conclude, but to protract the treaty — counter-negociations having been commenced with Ferdinand. — (See Harte's Gustavus.)

by Elizabeth of the cession which Charles the First had made in her favour, of his share in the property bequeathed by the Duchess Dowager of Holstein,* Frederic observes, "I cannot but be pleased with this proof "of affection in your brother, and that he "is satisfied with my conduct. God knows "I would not willingly incur his disappro- "bation, and am proud to proclaim my "obligations to his kindness. With regard "to the treaty, I am convinced that good "terms might be obtained, but that the old "system of procrastination continues; and "this proceeds in the manner of that of "Spain." From political subjects Frederic digresses to the more pleasing theme of his family. "Right glad am I that Rupert "stands so fair in your favour, and that "Charles goes on well. In good truth, "they are all very near my heart. May "God but grant me the happiness to see

* This princess was considered as very rich; but, owing to litigations, wars, and controversies, no part of this property ever came into Elizabeth's hands.

"you all again! I beseech you to say
"every thing kind for me to *our Queen*,
"Madame of Orange. I had written thus
"far, when who should arrive but Marquis
"Hamilton, with your dear, dear letter. I
"have seen the cession made by your bro-
"ther in your favour, as a testimony of his
"affection. It is very pleasing; but how
"much more am I gratified by the new
"proof you have given me of attach-
"ment, in appropriating it exclusively to
"my advantage. Never can I sufficient-
"ly thank you for this goodness; but I
"would far rather it should be vested in
"good security, to raise a fund for the
"gradual liquidation of every debt with
"which you are at present encumbered.
"For myself, I desire no other portion than
"that you should equally repay my love.
"Ah! do not allow yourself to suspect that
"absence can ever diminish affection such
"as mine. I could wish," he adds play-
fully, "that your daughter became a mar-
"vellous beauty, and that I could procure

"her a splendid marriage. The Count "Maurice will be ill pleased to find the "Count Hanau his rival. Upon second "thoughts, I believe neither of these will "have her, and M. Hautin keeps her for "his own son. This morning, I went with "the king to visit my good cousin's palace.* "The Marquis of Hamilton protests it is "the finest house he ever beheld. The "most precious articles have been removed; "but there still remain many rarities, which "are not, however, very portable; and, "even if they were, the King of Bohemia "would not choose to take one of them. I "began this letter yesterday. I shall now "conclude, assuring you that I remain for "ever,

"My best and only beloved,

"Your

"FREDERIC."

If Gustavus entered Munich as a conqueror, it was there that Frederic obtained

* The Duke of Bavaria, who had himself planned the edifice.

a victory over the sordid passions, still more rare, and not less worthy of admiration, when, in beholding the treasures of his invidious kinsman, he betrayed neither resentment nor envy. Even in contemplating the spoils of Heidelberg, he indulged no sentiments of exultation over a fallen foe; but the sight of the cannon, marked with his name, which had been so long in the enemy's possession, drew from him a mournful smile, whilst he numbered the years that had elapsed since they were captured from his champions, Mansfeld and Christian of Brunswick. This manly forbearance excited surprise in those who were not aware how much the domestic and religious sympathies which he possessed, have a tendency to soften and ennoble the heart. Had Frederic thirsted for revenge, his malice might have been amply gratified, when he saw his persecutor, the haughty Maximilian, constrained to humble himself before Wallenstein; the man whom, a few years before, he had despoiled of supreme command, and driven into unwelcome retirement. During

this forced privacy, Wallenstein, buried in the magnificent solitude of his palace at Prague, watched, with the astrologer Seni, for a propitious indication in the stars, to realize the dreams of ambition and vengeance.

At length, the critical moment arrived, which compelled the Emperor to solicit the aid of the deposed chief against the formidable Gustavus. With incredible celerity Wallenstein collected an army, which he led into Bohemia, where the Saxon troops, coalescing with Count Thurm, had once more raised the standard of the persecuted Piccardites: over these the Duke of Friedland obtained an easy victory; and, although he appears to have already meditated the desertion of Ferdinand, he scrupled not to employ every artifice to seduce from the Swedes the Elector of Saxony; and to infuse suspicions into the Kings of Britain and Denmark, of the sincerity and honour of Gustavus. To the Princes of the Union, he represented that the real aim of their

new auxiliary was, to change the constitution of the Germanic empire; whilst he artfully suggested to Charles the First, that if Frederic relied exclusively on his own personal influence with the Emperor, he might hope for an unconditional restoration of the Palatinate.

The intrigues of Wallenstein caused much of the embarrassment and procrastination of which Frederic complains, in his various communications to Elizabeth.*

The facility with which this great general had regained possession of Bohemia, whilst it confirmed the Emperor's confidence in his

* "Mr. Vane is not here: he sent the other day a very "insolent letter to the King of Bohemia, for which I "suspect he had no official instructions. To this, no "answer was returned by the offended party, but a "verbal message, intimating surprise and disapproba- "tion. There are strange people about Charles the "First. A new article has been foisted into the "treaty, quite different from what the King of Sweden "required, by virtue of which, if the British King "failed to furnish the sum required, the Palatinate "should be pledged for payment." — Bromley's Royal Letters.

infallibility, inflicted a severe pang on the jealous Maximilian; but still more bitter was the humiliation that prince experienced, when he found himself constrained, by Ferdinand's authority, to meet at Egra, his insulting rival, flushed with success, and exulting in his omnipotence. To prevent this junction, Gustavus had previously marched towards Ingolstadt, from whence, when repulsed, he took possession of Munich. Finding it impossible to force either Wallenstein or Maximilian to action without endangering Nuremburg, which he had taken under his especial protection, the king entrenched his army before that town, from whence Frederic wrote to Elizabeth, "if "a battle should ensue, the ladies from the "turrets might contemplate the combat, "in the manner of a tournament in the days "of Charlemagne."* In the meanwhile, a meeting had taken place between Wallenstein and Maximilian; at which the former,

* See Bromley's Royal Letters.

without ever quitting the semblance of decorous courtesy, lacerated the feelings of his abhorred adversary. It was in vain that the Duke of Bavaria proposed to attack Gustavus. With invincible frigidity, Fridland replied, "Would to Heaven so many battles had not "been given! but for such, we should not "now see the enemy in the heart of Ger-"many." Perceiving that Maximilian endured this sarcasm in silence, Wallenstein poured forth envenomed praises on the King of Sweden, whom he well knew the duke detested, protesting that he was the first captain of the day, and that he coveted his esteem even more than the honour of victory.* In confirmation of his words, he sent back several Swedish prisoners unransomed, and lavished on the enemy the most chivalrous generosity. "Since my last," writes Frederic to Elizabeth, "the hostile "army is posted within a league of our

* The Swedish Intelligencer. Le Vassor, Histoire de Louis Treize.

" camp, and much mischief is committed
" on either side. The other day the Duke
" of Fridland dismissed without ransom
" one of our officers, superadding to this
" kindness, the gift of a horse: he pro-
" claims his anxiety for the peace of Ger-
" many, a good devoutly to be desired, for
" this poor country suffers cruelly, and its
" calamities are redoubled every day. This
" Duke, who is extremely courteous, has
" hitherto forborne to put a garrison into
" Anspach, and pays for the bread his army
" consumes. I was out yesterday with the
" King during several hours, having march-
" ed eight leagues without halting. We
" are in no danger of famine, as those
" who think to starve us out, will find to
" their cost; yet I confess I am miserably
" weary of this position, chiefly I believe
" because I can so seldom receive letters
" from you. I went yesterday to visit the
" Marchioness of Anspach and many other
" ladies, all of whom long to see you arrive

" in Germany. Would to God this wish
" might speedily be accomplished."

In a subsequent letter, Frederic complains of his disappointment in not meeting his mother, who had travelled towards Poland. Another fortnight elapsed, and no change took place. During this tedious encampment, Gustavus flattered himself that the mutual antipathies of Wallenstein and Maximilian would produce an open rupture between them; but Maximilian had been trained in forbearance and dissimulation, and, stifling his disgusts, contented himself with advising an immediate attack on the Swedish lines. " Where could be the risk," said he, " even if we should not succeed in
" forcing the King's entrenchments? That
" his troops are brave and well disciplined, I
" admit; but they are worn down with absti-
" nence and fatigue. The King is valiant and
" successful; but, after all, he is a foreigner,
" and cannot count much on German auxi-
" liaries: even those who called him into
" the country would not be sorry to drive

"him out of it." "The King of Sweden," replied Wallenstein, "hazards little by a "battle but beyond this army, the Em- "peror has no resource. What if we suc- "ceed in forcing his lines; he would pre- "sently supply the loss from the towns "he has garrisoned, and in a few days we "should find him stronger than ourselves." The obstinacy with which Wallenstein persisted in his plan has been ascribed to malice, but should rather, perhaps, be referred to superstition, the astrologer Seni having predicted, that the good fortune of Gustavus would forsake him in the ensuing month of November.* At length, as Maximilian had foreseen, the King received a powerful reinforcement, of which he availed himself, to offer the enemy battle. All was now energy and animation in the town of Nuremburg; and never, perhaps, were so many great men assembled within its limits. There was Duke Bernard of Saxe

* See Swedish intelligence.—Kevenhuller, Le Vassor,

Weimar*, already a distinguished, though youthful, pupil of the great Gustavus, hereafter destined to be his successor; equally brilliant in the cabinet and the field, and who, in all but excessive personal ambition, was a second hero of the north. There was Oxenstern, the first statesman of the age; in whom sagacity, penetration, and consummate prudence were combined with probity and fidelity, the love of truth and justice. After these, came General Banier*, and the noble-minded William, Landgrave of Hesse, who had espoused a niece of the Electress Dowager Juliana (Amelia of Hanau), and who, evincing a steadiness of which few examples were offered by German princes, adhered inflexibly to his engagements with Gustavus. The arrival of these chiefs diffused a general joy, that dispelled even the dejection of Frederic; and when the Swedish monarch braved Wallenstein in his camp, the King of Bohemia, who scarce-

* Afterwards married to a German Princess, of Dourlach.

ly quitted his side, was apparently relieved by the roaring of the cannon, and the clashing of armour, which in those days encumbered the martial combatants.*

On the 5th of September, after a solemn religious service, at which Frederic fervently assisted, Gustavus quitted Nuremburg †, in which Oxenstern remained with an adequate garrison, whilst Frederic hastened to Frankfort, where he received an explanation from Gustavus, respecting the Palatinate, with which he was little satisfied. From Frankfort, Frederic repaired to the Duke de Deuxponts, where he had a second attack of intermittent fever; a circumstance which he appears to have concealed from Elizabeth, but which accounts for the melancholy that pervades his concluding letters. In the

* See Harte's Gustavus.

† The citizens of Nuremburg lent a hundred thousand rix dollars to Gustavus, who was to indemnify them from the bishopric of Bamberg, when it should be conquered. "This," says Frederic, "truly is di-"viding the skin before the bear is taken."

meanwhile, Gustavus, after having taken a solemn, and, as it was destined to prove, an everlasting farewell of his queen at Erfurt, transmitted his last dispatches to the King of Bohemia, in which he expressly disclaimed the intention of retaining any part of his dominions, protesting, that he was willing to submit to future discussion, whatever might be obscure. "After all," says Frederic, "these conditions are not a little hard."* After various tender admonitions, evincing the unbounded confidence and sympathy that reigned between them, he continues, "Without doubt you must have been appriz-"ed of the capture of Leipsic. To that spot "the king is hastening with his main army. "God grant that his wonted success may "still await him! but this rests on a higher "power than the will of man, and to which "all must submit."

In writing this letter, it is evident that Frederic struggled against the sinister im-

* Bromley's Letters.

pressions which perpetually recurred to his mind. He was aware that Gustavus adhered to the resolution of giving battle to Wallenstein, whose very name conveyed an awful presage to Frederic's mind, and of whom it had been the first exploit to drive out of Germany the most accomplished chief of the day, — the brilliant, though unsuccessful, Mansfeld: who should guarantee Gustavus from a similar fate? and, if this light were extinguished, what other chief should again arise to disperse the darkness that lowered on Germany and on Protestant Europe? These reflections alloyed the satisfaction that Frederic might otherwise have tasted in seeing Frankenthal (for the first time since its cession to the crafty infanta) about to be restored to its rightful sovereign, whilst he received from his subjects, no less than his brother, and his mother, the most cordial felicitations on the probable termination of his adversity. In defiance of these salutary influences, Frederic suffered a relapse of that fever which had so long

preyed on his frame. By the application of the usual palliatives, its violence was suspended, and, with care and attention, a complete recovery might be anticipated: but the true source of his malady was intense anxiety, operating upon susceptible and disappointed feelings — the sickness of hope deferred had undermined his strength — the chagrin he had long endured in silence — the ruin into which he had seen his family precipitated by his misfortunes — the calamities heaped on his father-land — the awful contrast presented by the past and the future — "above "all," says Spanheim, "the agonizing re- "collection of that beloved son, whose im- "ploring accents still vibrated on his ear, "but whom he was unable to redeem from "death;" — all these unfortunate circumstances unfitted the patient for farther struggles; and it was but too obvious that another stroke must terminate his mortal career.

In this dubious state was Frederic when the tidings, for which he was ever anxiously

inquiring, arrived*; the battle of Lutzen had been fought and won — victory remained to the Swedes, but their hero was numbered with the dead; Wallenstein was defeated, and Gustavus had perished! Bernard of Weimar had avenged his death, but the victor's trophy was too fatally purchased. The cause of freedom had for once prevailed; but who should ensure another triumph? "It is the will of God," cried Frederic, in an accent that conveyed an intimation he was himself preparing to die. It was in vain to suggest, that by this calamity his own position was improved, since Oxenstern had no power to render him tributary to Sweden for the Palatinate. Frederic was no longer capable of political calculations; he felt only that in Gustavus he had lost a steady, an honourable friend; more faithful than any ally, and kinder than any kinsman, whom he possessed†; and that,

* See note at end of the volume.

† Spanheim, Mémoires de l'Electrice Louise Juliane. Le Vassor, Histoire de Louis Treize.

after having so nearly approached the port, he was once more driven back to struggle with the unrelenting waves. To calamities presented in a new form he might have opposed fortitude and courage; but to sustain a repetition of the evils he had already suffered was beyond the limits of human endurance. With Gustavus had perished his best hopes; after that mournful event, he had only to follow him to an untimely grave. "To the last moment," says Spanheim, "his thoughts dwelt on his heroic "consort, who, with unequalled generosity, "had braved for him the frowns and per- "secutions of fortune, and who, in every "trial, had administered hope and conso- "lation. In dying, he expressed his con- "viction that the States and Prince Henry "would not withdraw their attentions from "the princess whom he had consigned to "their care; that from Charles the First "she would continue to receive proofs of "fraternal affection; whilst in him she "would merely lose one to whom she had

" been the dearest object in existence. To " his children he left an exhortation to con- " stancy in the Protestant faith, and obe- " dience to their mother. To all his relatives " he bequeathed some tender remembrance; " but his last thoughts, even his last prayers, " were for his Elizabeth." It was on the 6th * of November that Gustavus was slain at Lutzen; on the 17th Frederic expired at Mentz, in the thirty-sixth year of his age. He was interred in his paternal estates by his brother, Philip Louis; but, as it was to be dreaded that the sanctity of the grave would be violated, his remains were transported to Sedan, where they were permitted to repose in peace.

" The character of this prince," says a contemporary writer, " has been cruelly† " traduced by those who had an interest in " magnifying his faults, or who triumphed " in his misfortunes. To those by whom he

* According to Harte, Gustavus was slain on the 6th of November.

† In the church of Frankenthal.

" was really known and appreciated, it was " frankly allowed that his worst fault was " his ill success, and that the calumnies of " his enemies, and the malignant libels to " which he had been long subjected, had " no other foundation than his aggravated " calamities. During twelve years he was " perpetually the sport of fortune; and such " was the perverseness of his fate, that al- " though the Spanish commander had pro- " mised to cede Frankenthal to him on the " 12th of November, he still continued, " under frivolous pretexts, to retain posses- " sion of the garrison until the 26th, be- " fore which day Frederic had breathed his " last in the castle of Mentz; and thus were " the latest moments of this prince's life " embittered by disappointment." *

The fatal tidings of her loss arrived but too soon to Elizabeth; and the stroke was the more terrible, because wholly unexpected. The tenderness of Frederic had

* Le Mercure François.

led him to disguise from her the serious nature of his malady; trusting to Gustavus as to a tutelary angel, she thought only of a reunion with her husband, and of entering Frankenthal a second time in triumph. A single word annihilated those smiling visions, and, with them, all her hopes of earthly happiness; and, to use the language of contemporary writers, she exhibited indications of "*a marvellous grief.*" But the farewell injunctions of Frederic were not neglected; and, by a powerful effort controuling her emotions, she transmitted a memorial to the States of Holland, to solicit, but in no abject language, the continuance of their aid and protection. "It has pleased Almighty God," said Elizabeth, "to call from this scene "of woe my ever and most entirely be-"loved consort, an event of which I desire "to transmit to you the account, not doubt-"ing of your full and generous participation "in my sorrow; and, what renders this cala-"mity the more overwhelming is, that it "followed immediately that of his ally, the

" glorious, the invincible King of Sweden,
" and on the eve of triumph, just when he
" was about to re-enter into possession of his
" States, with all his former dignity. Thus
" to lose him, renders my grief almost be-
" yond endurance. My first great resource
" is Heaven: next to that divine trust, I
" confide in you; nor will I doubt but that
" to me and my children, will be continued
" that friendship so long manifested to my
" lamented consort. It is for a widow, for
" her orphans, that I now implore your pro-
" tection; conscious that it is not less the
" pride than it has been the glory of your
" commonwealth, to offer a refuge to the
" oppressed from the oppressor. It is for
" you to receive those who have been pro-
" scribed for the sake of righteousness and
" truth; you refuse not succour to the des-
" titute and persecuted; therefore, to your
" friendship, in his last moments, did my
" consort consign me and my bereaved
" children." *

* A transcript of this memorial is extant in the Mercure Francois, pour l'an 1632. The States con-

The grief of Elizabeth was not solitary. Her elder sons and daughters mourned not less sincerely, perhaps too intensely to be capable of administering consolation. The office of comforter devolved chiefly on Juliana, who, though herself overwhelmed with affliction, suppressed her own murmurs, to restore the fortitude of one whose magnanimous spirit had hitherto triumphed over adversity. "The letters of this princess," says Spanheim, "were not only consola-"tory, but admirable, for the strength of "judgment which they displayed, and for "their dignified resignation and touching "piety." *

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tinued to Elizabeth the same allowance they had made to Frederic.

* Mémoires de l'Electrice Louise Juliane. Spanheim affirms, that in the year when he wrote, 1644, the tears of Elizabeth had not ceased to flow, comparing her, with his usual pedantic affectation, to Artemisia, whose conjugal affection had produced one of the wonders of the world.

Much censure has been passed on the conduct of Gustavus, in not putting Frederic into immediate

possession of the Lower Palatinate. Harte insists, that it never was his intention ultimately to withhold those provinces, since Oxenstern, the confident of all his plans, had unequivocally declared his willingness to make unlimited restitution. The Swedish Intelligencer confirms this statement, and the zealous Monro expresses no doubt of his sincerity. Frederic himself, though at first startled by the proposition of the Swedish monarch, by degrees regarded him as a sincere friend, and similar sentiments were avowed by his son Charles Louis, and the other members of his family. Harte proves that the representations of Vane were neither judicious nor correct; and that, as may be seen by Bromley's Letters, his deportment had been no less offensive to Frederic than to Gustavus. Schmidt suggests a motive and an excuse for the King of Sweden, by ascribing to him the idea of establishing a Swedish power in Germany, and of indirectly undermining the foundation of the German empire. To a German, this was unquestionably an inexpiable offence; and it may be suspected, that even the illustrious Schiller has been somewhat warped in judgment by his patriotic prejudices. Of the enlightened policy of Gustavus, of his uprightness, generosity, and magnanimity there can now be but one sentiment; even the earnestness with which he endeavoured to reconcile Frederic to the toleration of Lutherans in his States, affords a strong presumption that he anticipated his future re-establishment in the Palatinate.

CHAPTER XIV.

FROM THE DEATH OF FREDERIC, TO THE RESTITUTION OF THE PALATINATE.

All the calamities Elizabeth had hitherto experienced were trivial, compared with the affliction with which she was overwhelmed by the death of Frederic, and the loss of his only supporter, Gustavus. Bereaved of the husband so long endeared by companionship in prosperity and misfortune, and with whom she had lived in unreserved confidence and affection, she not only saw her children deprived of their natural protector; but was herself robbed of the privilege which Nature had given her of watching over their interests. During the minority of her eldest son, the office of adminis-

trator was claimed by the late Elector's brother, Count Louis Philip, by whom her opinions were little regarded, and of whose first measures she had reason to disapprove; nor was it long ere she became sensible in how many various ways the prudence of Frederic had screened her from difficulties and cares, which she was now left, unaided, to support. How often, by his gentle and endearing admonitions, had she been restrained in that facility, or excessive liberality, from which she was afterwards destined to suffer, not merely inconvenience, but every species of domestic discomfort. At the moment that this terrible blow was inflicted, she could only mourn and weep; nor was she roused from grief, but to detect unkindness in her kinsmen, insincerity in her friends, and lukewarmness in partizans, hitherto full of ardour and confidence. The first step taken by the King of Great Britain, though calculated to impose on the world, was of all others least likely to soothe Elizabeth. In the first place, the Earl of Arundel paid a

visit of condolence, at Rheten, to the Queen and her daughters, and from thence proceeded to the Emperor Ferdinand, to intercede for the restoration of Frederic's innocent children, who had hitherto been involved in the guilt imputed to their father. The high spirit of Elizabeth revolted from the abject language of supplication employed in this negociation, by which she too justly inferred that the king never meant to depart from that guarded system of policy, which had hitherto rendered his interposition abortive. At this period, a small effort on his part might have snatched her children from a state of dependence; but the critical moment was overlooked, and, to complete her mortification, whilst her own kinsman temporized, her brother-in-law, Count Louis, hazarded the loss of every thing already gained, by peremptorily demanding from the Swedes to be put in possession of whatever had been conquered of the Palatinate.

Unable to defend the places surrendered

to his protection, the Count was soon convinced his interference served only to increase the embarrassment of his family. This precipitation was the more reprehensible, as the rix-chancellor, Oxenstiern, now virtually the regent of Sweden, with that uprightness which marked his political conduct, solemnly pledged himself not only to restore to the Palatine family those provinces that had been redeemed from the enemy, but to make the recovery of the remaining part his first object, provided he were countenanced and assisted in the undertaking by the King of Great Britain. Whether deterred by hatred to the Puritans, or by jealousy of the States of Holland, this proposition obtained no favour from Charles, who openly slighted the alliance of Sweden; and thus was it revealed to Ferdinand, that the family of Frederic had lost in Gustavus their only true protector. In spite of these obstacles, individuals were still found, who, from motives of generosity, undertook their relief. Of these, one of the most constant,

and, perhaps, the most useful, was the celebrated Grotius, who, after having long languished in probation on Richelieu's patronage, was suddenly invested by Oxenstiern with the dignity of plenipotentiary from the Queen of Sweden; and in this new character offered his mediation in behalf of the Palatine House. During three years Grotius was merely heard with complacency; nor was it until after the battle of Nordlingen, that Cardinal Richelieu cordially adopted his sentiments. During that interval, Lord Craven, and a few brave British volunteers, struggled to maintain their ground in the Palatinate. But after that disastrous conflict all seemed lost; the mischief of defeat was proclaimed by the treaty of Prague, — scarcely less pusillanimous than that of Ulm, — and by which the claims of the Palatine House, and of the Swedes, were shamefully abandoned. Inured as Elizabeth had long been to disappointment, she could not but be astonished to find among the seceders from the standard of freedom, not only her

brother-in-law, the Elector of Brandenburg, and the Duke of Saxony, but the Dukes of Mecklenburg and Brunswick Lunenburg, and even the Duke of Weimar, whose brother, the gallant Prince Bernard, commanded in the army of the great Gustavus.*

It might have been expected that this convention, which equally neglected to indemnify Sweden, or to recognize the rights of the Palatine House, should have given the death blow to either party. Such, at least, was the despondence its contents produced in England, that even the king's ministers scrupled not to patronize a scheme for transporting the sons of Elizabeth to other countries; and, among the commercial projects of the day, it was proposed that the Prince Elector, Charles Louis, should take possession of the Isle of Madagascar, and his brother Rupert found a colony in the

* This convention, originating in the discontent and duplicity of the Elector of Saxony, and evidently dictated by jealousy of Sweden, took place about a year after the tragical death of Wallenstein.

West Indies. The enterprizing spirit of the two princes relished an idea which at least offered activity and independence; but their wiser mother, who, however slighted by her brother, had not yet surrendered the authority which Nature gave her over her children, commanded them to desist, for she would have no son of her's go about as a "knight errant." * Superior to adversity, Elizabeth allowed not herself to be dismayed by the temporary depression of the Swedes. Experience taught her to predict a re-action in their favour; nor was she in this deceived. Alarmed by the progress of Ferdinand, Cardinal Richelieu urged his sovereign to sustain the Protestants, and war was openly declared against the Emperor by a power sufficiently formidable to check his conquests, if not to circumscribe his dominions. At the same moment was a treaty concluded between Spain and Austria, of which the ultimate object was the

* See Howell's Letters.

annihilation of the States of Holland; and, strange as it may appear, an attempt was made, by splendid offers, to draw into their coalition, the British monarch. To counteract these schemes, Cardinal Richelieu dispatched an embassy to England, not to solicit aid or co-operation, but simply to obtain from Charles a promise of neutrality; in return for which, he offered to guarantee to his nephew the restitution of the Palatinate. On a cursory glance of the subject, no persuasions should seem to have been necessary to obtain this easy concession; but in England, as in France, the springs of political action must be traced to trivial, if not criminal, intrigues; and there is reason to believe that the coldness with which Charles received this proposal originated in the artifices of his fascinating queen*, by whom

* The Cardinal having sent Count d'Estrades with a letter, calculated to disarm the queen's resentment, before he attempted to silence the objections of the king's ministers; Henrietta refused to receive the Cardinal's letter, and, by that ill-timed obstinacy, incurred his everlasting displeasure. Abstracted from sym-

Richelieu was, for her mother's sake, abhorred, and to whose clandestine correspondence with her sister, the queen of Spain, her husband's seeming partiality for that cabinet is with strong probability attributed.

It was in vain that Elizabeth addressed either prayers or expostulations to the British monarch. Impatient of her interference, Charles, in addressing his *only dear sister*, desired her to be assured that all his actions "should tend to her service, and that the "counsels and resolutions that came from "him would prove more for her good than

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pathy in her mother's wrongs, Henrietta, who corresponded with her sister, the Queen of Spain, laboured to prevent a rupture with that country: on the other hand, Charles, like his father, implicated his sister in the dislike he had conceived to the Puritans, who were steady to her cause, and most clamorous that he should openly and strenuously become her protector.—See Le Vassor. The history of Henrietta, in the memoirs of Madame de Motteville. Also Rapin. Whitlock's Memorials. See also Lodge's Portraits; character of Elizabeth, and the Political Correspondence from 1635 to 1641, in the Sydney Papers.

"of any body else." * In the sequel, after having allowed the Cardinal to hope for a qualified acquiescence with his wishes, the king entered into a clandestine negociation with the Emperor for the restitution of the Palatinate. †

Nearly four years had elapsed since Frederic's death, when, for the first time, the British monarch invited to England his sister's two eldest sons, Charles and Rupert. The former had almost attained the age at which he might take into his own hands the administration of affairs; and his mother observed with pride, that he possessed abilities fully adequate to the task; but with this satisfaction was mingled the alloy, of discovering in him certain traits of pertinacity and selfishness, utterly revolting to her nature, and which redoubled her solicitude for the future fate of her other children, who must inevitably be dependent on his liberality. Born in Heidelberg, and, during

* See Bromley's Royal Letters.

† See Sydney Papers, vol. ii.

some years educated in Prussia, Charles Louis never learned to divest himself of the arrogance of a German despot. With him pride was not only a ruling passion, but held the place of a moral principle ; and whilst it confirmed his adherence to the Protestant faith of his fathers, it steeled his breast to the tenderness of filial or fraternal sympathy. With handsome features and a courteous address, his countenance gave no indication of his mother's animation or his father's sensibility. Of a different cast was Rupert. Robust from the cradle, he commenced his military career at thirteen, by marching with the Prince of Orange to the siege of Rhinberg, and at sixteen already displayed the hardihood and strength of maturity. From infancy he had been admired for quick parts, and undaunted courage; and he already reigned without a rival in his mother's heart, for she believed him to be born a hero.

Of her daughters, Elizabeth alone approached maturity, and though without pre-

tensions to beauty, was already distinguished for her intellectual attainments. Louisa, then in her thirteenth year, gave more promise of personal attraction, and as hitherto resided almost exclusively at Rheten, where she cultivated the languages and the arts, and under Gerard Horst, who resided in the family, became an accomplished artist. Of the younger girls, Henrietta and Sophia, little was yet to be predicted; but they were graceful and intelligent, especially the latter, whose superior beauty flattered her mother's fondness, and who for her gaiety was equally the plaything of her brother Charles, and the favourite of her elder sisters. Hitherto the first object of Elizabeth's maternal solicitude had been to secure the adherence of her family to the Protestant faith. In the steadiness of her eldest son and daughter, she reposed implicit confidence; but for the more youthful and susceptible Rupert, she could not divest herself of anxiety; and it is probable that Lord Craven repaired to England, at her solicitation, to guard the

inexperienced youth of his royal pupil. His good offices were also exerted to procure the payment of Elizabeth's pension, "the arrears of which," says Charles Louis, "would otherwise have been unredeemed.*

* The venerable Wotton continued to correspond with the Queen of Bohemia.

"Most resplendent Queen, even in the darkness of "fortune.

"That was wont to be my style unto your Majesty, "which you see I have not forgotten; for though I "had great while forborne to trouble you with my "poor lines, yet the memory of your sweet and royal "virtues is the last things that will die in me. In these "months of my silence I have been busy, (if any work "of my brains may be termed a business) about cer-"tain compositions of my own, partly imposed, and "partly voluntary; whereof some would fain struggle "into the light."

In a subsequent letter, he mentions the arrival of her sons, whom he had not yet seen, but of whom fame made fair report. In the same letter, Wotton gives an exalted character of the probity and discretion of the new Lord Treasurer Juxon, intimating that the queen might in future hope for more punctual payments of her pension. "In the meanwhile I have gotten a subject "worthy to exercise my pen, which is, the choice of "the new Lord Treasurer; upon which place your

At this period the court of Charles was the most magnificent in Europe: immense sums had been expended in embellishing his palaces, and in filling them with stately pageantry; yet his sister's pittance remained unpaid, and from her alone were withheld the boons of his liberality and munificence. Towards his nephews, to whom he made professions of unbounded kindness, his friendship appears to have been as equivocal as his negociations. Their arrival in England had given great content to the Puritans, by whom it was fondly expected that if the King took no other steps for his kinsmen, he might at least assign to them some of those high

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"Majesty hath always some dependence in your do-
"mestic affairs. I believe your Majesty hath never
"seen him, therefore I will paint him before you;
"though I speak as yet more out of opinion than ex-
"perience, for your Majesty knows my nature, and I
"am always one of the last intruders. Now, the best
"and shortest draught I can make of him is this:
"there is in him no humour, no sourness, no distrac-
"tion of thoughts."

offices which were lavished on favourites, who, even on the score of deserts, were not better entitled to such marks of favour. But Charles, who had no intention to secure to either of those princes an establishment in the country, contented himself with employing diplomatic interest in their favour; —and, at the same time, that he sent the Earl of Arundel to mediate with the Emperor, he despatched the Earl of Leicester to Paris to treat for a convention with France and the States, if the former proposition should be rejected. In the meanwhile the young Prince Elector employed Rusdorf* to draw up a memorial, afterwards published, containing an eloquent exposition of the various acts of injustice committed against his father, and other members of the Palatine family; with a spirit that did honour to his filial sentiments, Charles Louis refused to ask the Emperor to remove the ban, since that, he observed, would be to ad-

* Rusdorf, already mentioned as the confidential agent of Frederic.

mit that it had once been legally imposed. "And that," he added, "I will never "do; inasmuch as I do not acknowledge "my father to have been guilty."* Hitherto the King appeared to relish the society of his nephews, and even proposed a marriage for Rupert with the daughter of the Duke de Rohan†; whilst he more seriously encouraged overtures from the King of Poland for his niece Elizabeth. In the sequel both these matrimonial speculations proved abortive; yet the negociation with the Pole was protracted during two years, and, finally, suspended, on the convenient pretext of difference of faith. In the sequel Ladislaus espoused a niece of Ferdinand; and Elizabeth devoted herself to the single state.

The publication of the Prince Elector's memorial produced no impression at Vienna: the death of the Emperor Ferdinand

* This is consonant to Frederic's own argument, namely, that he had never rebelled against the Emperor, but merely opposed the Archduke of Austria.

† Then at the head of the Protestant party in France.

in 1637 promised more important consequences; but it soon appeared, that the same system was to be perpetuated under his son and successor. Hitherto it had been expected, that on the demise of the Duke of Bavaria, the Upper Palatinate should be restored to the heirs of Frederic; but Maximilian having lately espoused a daughter of Ferdinand, in his old age became the father of a prince, to whom he was anxious to transmit whatever provinces he had annexed to his dominions. All hopes of conciliation being now at an end, the king, to rid himself of his nephew's importunity, vouchsafed to sanction any steps that his friends might please to take for the recovery of his dominions; and even promised to equip a fleet to co-operate in the enterprise. "And "now," says the Prince Elector, "we shall "see whose professions are real or not: my "Lord Craven has already offered ten thou-"sand for his share: if all were like him, "the affair would soon be completed."

With whatever satisfaction Elizabeth re-

ceived these proofs of her son's activity and adroitness, she was shocked by the cold-hearted selfishness with which he objected to her setting apart a small sum for the express use of his sister Louisa, alleging, that for the present every thing ought to be sacrificed to the great object of raising that family, of which he was the head and protector. Nor was this the only occasion in which, in the true spirit of masculine domination, Charles Louis interfered with his mother's domestic arrangements. Even at this early period he quarrelled with her domestics, and complained of her friendship to certain ladies, who had long been devoted to her service. Far different had been the language of Frederic, when he deemed it necessary to check the liberality, or fortify the too facile temper of the woman he adored.*

* See Bromley's Royal Letters, where, after blaming her for allowing Dingle, an Englishman, to lodge so near the apartments of her daughter the Princess Elizabeth, lest the people of the Hague should invent

It is not probable that Elizabeth should have been insensible to these affronts offered to her maternal dignity. Formed to love and to be loved, she was still too young to command the reverence of sons and daughters arrived at maturity; yet, by her parental relation, too far removed from their ideas of youth to engage their sympathy. Lord Craven, who had lived but eight years longer than her son, Charles Louis, appears to have been the mutual friend and mediator, who most contributed to preserve harmony between them. At length the Queen saw her two eldest sons prepare for departure, under no favourable auspices. Her brother continued to withhold the promised supplies, until a certain treaty of Hamburgh (a convention of German Princes with the King of Denmark) should be certified, which proved, like many others, an idle speculation. Eager for action,

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some scandal, he adds, "but do I not well know that "you cannot form your lips to utter an ungracious de-"nial."—Page 59.

Charles Louis obtained permission from the Queen of Sweden to coalesce with the heroes and troops he had collected, with a Scottish officer (King), commanding two thousand Swedish troops in Westphalia. Aware of the dangers incident to this undertaking, Elizabeth engaged the gallant Lord Craven to accompany her sons as a volunteer, trusting to his superior skill and experience to direct their movements; a proof of maternal solicitude, for which Charles Louis offered acknowledgements, and Rupert evinced gratitude. From the commencement of this march, Lord Craven transmitted to Elizabeth regular details of their military operations; and in these dispatches originated the confidential correspondence between the Queen and her warrior, which was never after suspended. The first movements of the combined army, amounting but to four thousand men, were successful; but having been driven from the siege of Lippe, they had the misfortune to encounter Gen. Hatsfeld, over one wing of whose army Lord

Craven and the Palatine princes had obtained a decided advantage, when suddenly they found themselves abandoned by the Swedes, and were at length overpowered by superior numbers.* Although this was the first action in which Rupert had ever been engaged, he fought with obstinate bravery, and but for the interposition of Lord Craven, would have sacrificed his life, rather than surrender his sword. In the sequel, that nobleman and the Prince were both taken prisoners. Charles Louis escaped from the field; and, entering his coach, drove with full speed towards Minden: finding his progress impeded by a river, he assured the coachman it was fordable, and

* See Bromley's Royal Letters. This circumstance is pointedly alluded to by the Prince Elector, in a letter to his mother, evidently written in 1637, but by mistake dated 1677. He says, "the proof of regard "lately given, shall ever be in my remembrance."— Of Bromley's Royal Letters it may here be observed, that they are almost uniformly inaccurate with regard to dates and cyphers; the name King James being often substituted for Charles the First, long after the decease of the former.

ordered him to cross without delay: the Prince was obeyed. But on reaching the opposite bank, it was found too steep to ascend: conscious that he was at that moment closely pursued, Charles threw himself from the carriage, and clinging to the shrubs that sprung out of the cliffs; at length succeeded in gaining the summit, and, without a single companion, made his way to Minden, from whence he transmitted to his mother the history of his disaster, in which she saw her worst fears verified. The beloved Rupert was a prisoner; and for her sake was Lord Craven sacrificed with him. Regardless of his mother's feelings, Charles Louis appealed to her reason, not to attempt to convey messages to his brother, who was strictly watched and guarded in the Castle at Vienna; contrary to his expectations, however, Rupert found means to send a few lines to his mother, simply to quiet her apprehensions, and to assure her, that no earthly powers should induce him to abjure his faith, or renounce his party.

Overwhelmed as Elizabeth had been with calamities, the moment that afforded her this proof of filial tenderness was not unmingled with pleasure; and, after bitter tears, she wept for joy. For the captivity of Lord Craven, she could have no other solace than the satisfaction which in virtuous minds arises from the contemplation of a noble character. To a grateful nature the consequences of such an obligation must have been painful, without the belief that she should hereafter possess the means of recompence.

To Lord Craven, on the contrary, every effort made, every sacrifice offered, seemed but to bind him more devotedly to Elizabeth's service; even after he had obtained his ransom for the enormous sum of twenty thousand pounds *, he hastened not to the Hague, but rather lingered in Germany, with the vain expectation of redeeming Rupert's liberty. This second sacrifice

* See Wotton's Letters.

was not less generous than the first; and cold and sordid must have been the heart that did not feel it. But by no efforts of private friendship was Rupert's deliverance to be effected: it was not until after three years that he was exchanged for Prince Casimer of Poland; nor even then, without solemnly pledging his faith that he would never again bear arms against the Emperor. During the tedious interval of Rupert's imprisonment, an event occurred calamitous to the Allies, but which promised a speedy restoration to the Palatine family; this was the death of Bernard Duke of Weimar, who, since the fatal day of Lutzen, had filled the place of the great Gustavus; and who, after six campaigns, equally difficult and glorious, was on the eve of celebrating his nuptials with Amelia, the celebrated Landgravine of Hesse; an union from which he anticipated advantages equivalent to the acquisition of an independent sovereignty.*

* Amelia Landgravine of Hesse, a niece of Juliana

This lamented chief having died on his return from France, the first thing to be

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the Electress Palatine, was justly celebrated for her courage, her consummate prudence, and address. Her late husband, William of Hesse, who had been steadily attached to Gustavus, was one of the few kinsmen who, after the death of Frederic, interested himself in the protection of his family. In 1637, he had joined the German Princes, who supported Oxenstiern; and it was chiefly by his mediation that Charles Louis had been encouraged to make a personal effort for the recovery of the Palatinate. Dying in the same year, he left Amelia, to whom, from the conviction of her unequalled abilities, he had committed the regency, environed by foes, but in possession of fifteen thousand fine troops; which, according to the custom of the times, she was expected to transfer, for certain pecuniary compensations, to another commander. At this juncture, it was feasibly proposed by Henry, Prince of Orange, that the troops should be made over to the young Elector Palatine, to enable him to obtain possession of his States. Amelia acceded to the proposal. In the meanwhile, the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, her husband's kinsman, who, it may be recollected, for his behaviour to Frederic, incurred the rebuke of Gustavus, attempted to usurp her authority; but Amelia, young and handsome, and encircled by her children, convened the States, who willingly took an oath of allegiance to the Landgravine and her eldest

considered was who should succeed to the command of his army, and to whom that

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son. The former, by a judicious distribution of money, secured the liberality of her subjects, whilst, in the manner of Mansfeld, she amused the Emperor Ferdinand, and her other opponents, by entering into negociation; and thus extracted subsidies for the maintenance of her troops. Anxious to possess her army, Ferdinand offered good terms, which she accepted; but contrived to make the agreement null, by inserting an article, guaranteeing unlimited toleration, to which she well knew the Emperor would never accede. After various manœuvres, she prepared to surrender to Duke Bernard of Weimar her 15,000 soldiers, a bridal portion, such as in those days was more than equivalent to a magnificent revenue. To Bernard, whose ruling passion was glory, the sight of those fine troops decided his choice; and he declined three fair young Princesses for the widowed Amelia; with whose assistance he hoped to make himself equally independent of France and Sweden, having long meditated the creation of a new sovereignty, which would have deranged the whole Germanic system. "The "match," says Le Vassor, "was quite military; but "armies were then commercial; an army, like a com- "pany, being made over to the highest bidder. Enor- "mous sums were extracted from the ransom of pri- "soners." It was Mansfeld who first introduced these standing armies: the exigencies of the times had ren-

army belonged; whether it was amenable to the Queen of Sweden, under whose authority it acted; to the King of France, by whose gold it was subsidized; or whether, in the manner of the Condottieri of the middle ages, it were free to choose its own chief. To those who knew in what manner the fortune of war was then pursued as a lucrative and almost commercial profession, there could be no difficulty in deciding that the Weimarian troops would assume the right of disposing of themselves to the highest bidder. Incited by the Prince of Orange, Charles Louis hastened to England, to procure from his uncle a sum sufficiently large to buy the army; with which he doubted not he should obtain possession of the Palatinate. The plan was too feasible to be

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dered the practice common in Germany; but being uncongenial to the feelings and habits of the people, after the thirty years' war came to be exploded. In the sequel, Amelia's army was transferred to the King of France.

rejected; and the King having advanced five-and-twenty thousand pounds, which was one-half of the sum required, the Prince Elector was about to proceed through Holland to the camp, when Charles suddenly remarked that the King of France, by whom the army was subsidized, ought to be consulted on the subject, and that his nephew would have little chance of success without his concurrence in the enterprize. Vexed by this impediment, Charles Louis had no alternative but to suffer a communication to be made to the French court, requiring a passport for his journey. To this requisition no answer was transmitted; an omission which the French ambassador referred to, explained by his master's journey to Lyons *; but from which the Prince Elector easily divined, that his plea would not be admitted. With this conviction, he determined to quit England; but, instead of going privately by Holland, as his own judgment dictated,

* See Le Vassor, Sydney Papers, Second Volume.

from deference to his uncle went to Boulogne, conveyed by a royal yacht, and complimented with a royal salutation. After this avowal of rank, the prince incautiously proceeded with a few attendants to Paris, where he most preposterously assumed the *incognito*, and very leisurely set out towards Lyons, under pretext of following the court, but with the intention of deviating from that route, to proceed through Switzerland, to the army in Alsace. In the meanwhile, the penetrating eye of Richelieu had not only tracked his course, but detected his object; and no sooner had the prince advanced to Moulins, than he was put under arrest, and, with few ceremonies, conducted to the castle of Vincennes*, where he had leisure sufficient to reflect on the consequences of his rash presumption. To excuse this extraordinary procedure towards the chief of that house whose interests France openly advocated, it was alleged that Charles

* Sydney Papers, Le Vassor, Life of Grotius.

Louis had acted invidiously in attempting to obtain possession of the Weimarian army without permission from the King of France; and when the prince appealed to his uncle's communication, in proof that he had not meditated any clandestine proceeding, it was urged that, when first intercepted, he had concealed his name and disguised his rank; two circumstances which made conclusively against him.

If Elizabeth deplored the mischance that had befallen Charles Louis, she was grieved and indignant for the treatment experienced by his three younger brothers, Maurice, Edward, and Philip, whom she had sent to Paris purposely that they might acquire certain polite accomplishments, for which no adequate professors were to be procured in the republic. From the moment that the Prince Elector was conducted to Vincennes, these young princes were watched and espied in a manner that excited alarm for their safety; and, in reality, had the naval armament, at that time preparing in the ports

of England, attempted to join the Spanish fleet, there is little doubt that these young princes also would have been lodged in a royal castle. * It was in vain that the Earl of Leicester peremptorily reclaimed the royal prisoner; Cardinal Richelieu laboured to render him an hostage to secure the accession of his uncle to the alliance between France and Sweden; on which condition he offered to make every effort for his re-establishment in the Palatinate.

During six months there was an incessant struggle between the ambassadors and the French ministry, respecting the Prince Palatine. Amelia of Hesse implored for her kinsman; Christian of Denmark menaced; Christina of Sweden interceded; and Grotius, at a public audience, appealed to the clemency of Louis in an eloquent speech, during which that monarch, the unnatural persecutor of his own mother, appeared touched whenever the misfortunes and ma-

* See Letters of Grotius. Le Vassor, Histoire de Louis Treize.

ternal anxieties of the Queen of Bohemia were mentioned. In reply, he attempted, most artificially, to throw on the King of Great Britain the odium of his nephew's detention*, for which there no longer ex-

* "A few words from his Britannic Majesty," said Grotius, "would not only redeem the prince's liberty, "but put him in possession of the Weimarian army; "and those few words would cost him nothing but an "assurance that he meant not to coalesce with Spain, "the enemy of France and of his Majesty's allies."— The conduct of Charles the First on this occasion appears most inconsistent; nor is it easy to conceive why he should, in 1639, have preferred the friendship of Spain to the alliance of the States, which, two years after, he cordially accepted. It is, however, certain that the King of France, who had secret engagements with the Duke of Bavaria, could not seriously intend to establish Charles Louis in the Palatinate. It is no less certain that Richelieu was at this moment fomenting discontents in Scotland by the agency of one Lesley, a presbyterian, who was attached to the Palatine interests. Le Vassor intimates, with much plausibility, that the release of Charles Louis was actually made, not at the requisition of the Queen of Sweden, but at the demand of Lesley, and to gratify the Scottish party. It is worthy of remark, that the application formally made by Grotius to Louis, was previously

isted a decent pretext, the Weimarian army having been transferred to the command of his general the Duke de Longueville; but the Duke of Bavaria was in secret treaty with the French court; and it was consequently the object of the ministers to extort from Charles Louis a promise not to quit the kingdom without their master's permission. The young Elector, whose health suffered by his imprisonment, too readily submitted to their dictation; and, under vexatious restrictions, was restored to per-

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suggested to him by Richelieu. In the Sydney Papers, page 648, second volume, the Abbé Chambers is named as the agent employed by Richelieu to excite insurrection in Scotland. He was probably the medium of communication with Lesley. From the Sydney Papers it appears also, that Charles the First, like James, coveted a Spanish alliance for his two eldest children, Charles and Mary. This was not the only instance in which that monarch submitted to the trammels of his consort, Henrietta Maria, whose influence was uniformly opposed to the interests of the Palatine family. — See Letters of Grotius, also Bourgny's Life of Grotius.

sonal liberty. After his enlargement he was kindly received by the British ambassador, yet apprized of the displeasure * which his uncle had manifested at his conduct. He was, however, soon consoled for all these mortifications, by the result of his personal application to Louis, from whom whom he obtained the recognition of his right and title as an elector of the empire; a concession which he now justly considered as the earnest of a future triumph. After another probation of six months, the prince obtained his full liberty, nearly at the same time that his brother Rupert was liberated from the

* Charles writes in his vindication to the Queen of Bohemia: "By M. Bawyr's relation your Majesty will "find how the business was carried, and upon what "terms I was set in some kind of liberty, which I con- "ceive more advantageous towards the obtaining of "further satisfaction by my own solicitations, with the "assistance of those that have a *real* interest in my "good, than to remain in prison, trusting in those that "would make my misfortune serve to advance their "private ends, and withal run the hazard of being dis- "avouched. Enough of this; more I dare not trust "in a letter." — Bromley's Royal Letters.

castle of Vienna, after three years' confinement.

It was impossible but that Elizabeth should, in some degree, mark, by her reception, the impression she must have received of the difference of character in her two sons, and which had been strikingly exemplified, under similar trials, in their late conduct. Whether Charles Louis felt that the comparison had been to his disadvantage, or that he was jealous of his brother's talents, he evidently became estranged from Rupert, but attached himself particularly to his younger brother and sister, Philip and Sophia, over whom he commanded as a patron, a master, or protector. The two succeeding years that elapsed after the liberation of her two sons, were apparently the most prosperous of any that Elizabeth had known since her widowhood. By an unexpected change in her brother's political system, she saw a treaty of amity concluded between Great Britain and the States; and, what she had

never ventured to expect, this coalition of political interests was cemented by a matrimonial alliance, between Prince William of Nassau and her niece, the Princess Mary, the eldest daughter of Charles the First. As neither William nor Mary had passed the years of childhood; the marriage was at present merely nominal; yet, to evince the sincerity of the British monarch, the youthful prince was invited to England, where the espousals were celebrated with almost as much pomp as had been displayed at the nuptial festivities of Frederic and Elizabeth.

Amidst the joy which this event was calculated to diffuse among the members of the Palatine family, a signal offence was given to Charles Louis, who, since his public recognition as an elector at the court of France, had been more than ever tenacious of the privileges annexed to that august dignity. With the petulance and presumption natural to his age, Prince William of Nassau arrogated to himself the rank of a Prince of Wales, because he had married a

British princess, and presumed to challenge precedence of the Elector Palatine, (the first dignity in the empire,) whose pretensions were frankly admitted by the English and French ambassadors; the great Grotius, whose universal knowledge included the by-laws of German etiquette, having peremptorily decided in his favour. In the precarious position of the Elector's affairs, it was something gained, when the first potentates of Europe confirmed those titular pretensions, which were all he could at present oppose to the Duke of Bavaria, and other usurpers of his hereditary possessions. Perhaps, too, he was not sorry to have an opportunity to demonstrate to his uncle, that he had given his daughter to a prince whose rank was decidedly inferior to that which he himself possessed. From the epoch of Duke Bernard's death, he had lost all confidence in the friendship of Charles, who, on his part, had never forgiven his mean submission in the castle of Vincennes.

The Prince of Orange appeared more

elated than became a great commander, with the splendid connection he had lately formed for his only son; and, as if to prepare a suitable residence for the young princess, every vestige of republican severity was banished from his palace, and in wealth, pomp, and luxury his satellites emulated the refinements of monarchical people. According to a witness * of the scene which he describes, the Hague was now enlivened by three courts, exclusive of a concourse of distinguished foreigners and military personages. To that of the Prince of Orange were attached two thousand gentlemen of different nations, chiefly French and English, all well mounted, and all wearing the same uniform, namely, the orange scarf, the buff collar, the ample boots, and the massive scimitar. The States-General had their court also, their public meetings and private assemblies, composed of the nobility, who were designated by habits of black velvet,

* Vie de Rénée Descartes.

an immensely broad muslin or lace ruff, and a square beard.

Of a far different aspect was the court or circle of the exiled Queen of Bohemia and her fair daughters, which was called the mansion of the muses and graces. Of these, the eldest and most distinguished, the Princess Elizabeth, had no pretensions to beauty, although she had expressive eyes, and a mild pleasing countenance; addicted to sedentary pursuits, she rarely joined in the diversion of the chase, which her mother pursued with unabated ardour, was unskilled in music, and in general preferred reading, writing, or intellectual society, to any other amusement. Her mental attainments were such as would have rendered any woman illustrious. For the languages and the sciences she had equal aptitude; and her supreme delight was meditation, or, as it was called, philosophy. These studies were little congenial to the habits of her mother's household; and the disparity in intellectual endowments was probably the cause why so little sym-

pathy existed between them. Louisa, now in the bloom of youth, possessed the attractions of a fine complexion, symmetrical features, a well-proportioned form, and a most graceful deportment.* Although her dispositions were somewhat reserved, her manners were soft and prepossessing; and though less studious than Elizabeth, she was, like her, devoted to a pursuit that rendered her independent of frivolous amusements. Accustomed in childhood to reside in the country, she had sedulously cultivated a taste for painting, to which her master, Gerard Horst, gave judicious encouragement, by criticising, rather than embellishing, her productions. The Queen of Bohemia, who was far more competent to appreciate a paintress than a female philosopher, smiled on Louisa's efforts, and evinced for her a partiality, that drew from her elder son a marked, though decorous, expression of displeasure.

* Acording to Grainger, a portrait of this princess is in Wilton House, the seat of Earl Pembroke. There is also a fine portrait of Louisa, by Gerard Horst, in Combe Abbey.

Henrietta Maria, the third daughter, who but verged on womanhood, was a more ordinary character; but the most captivating of all these princesses, was Sophia, whose education was less systematic than that of Louisa or Elizabeth, and who, by a happy irregularity, had been permitted to combine the mother's vivacity with Louisa's softness and Elizabeth's solidity of judgment. It was observed, that the queen attached herself to her children for their different qualities. Thus, whilst she assimilated with Charles and Elizabeth in their constancy to Protestantism, she sympathized with Rupert's feelings of heroism and generosity; and, though she could not but discern that Louisa was without that openness of temper which she herself possessed, she overlooked the defect, for the sake of that uniform cheerfulness and amenity which gave to this daughter, above every other, the power of soothing her mother's cares.

It was not only in luxury and wealth that the Republic of Holland aspired to emulate

the more powerful kingdoms of Europe. The arts had sprung up in the soil of liberty; scholars, painters, and poets, vied with heroes and patriots, in reflecting glory on their native country. It would be superfluous to cite the names of the popular Batavian bards, who at this time enlivened the leisure, and refined the taste of their compatriots; since poets of every class, from the lyric to the epic, contributed to the mental pleasures of the citizens, the nobles, and the soldiers.* To Elizabeth herself, who naturally preferred the literature of her native country, those writers might perhaps possess no attractions; but to her daughters, to all of whom, except the Princess Palatine, the Dutch was a native tongue, these various compositions were highly acceptable.

* A few years ago the names of those Batavian bards would have conveyed no idea to the English reader. It was reserved for that elegant little volume of Batavian Anthology, which has since appeared under the auspices of Mr. Bowring, and his coadjutor, Mr. Van dyk, to give us a glimpse of those distinguished Batavian writers, who had long been cherished by their compatriots.

But independently of poets and scholars, the province of Utrecht was at that time the chosen retreat of one of the most extraordinary men of that age; who, in the reign of polemical controversy, without either sectarian zeal or political fanaticism, was destined to give a new impulse to the thinkers of Europe. This was the celebrated Rénée Descartes, whose life seemed almost as paradoxical as his writings. Educated in a jesuit's college, he renounced the church to learn the art of war under Maurice of Nassau; but being disgusted with his oppression of the Remonstrants, entered the service of Maximilian and Ferdinand, two vehement Catholic persecutors, and actually served as a volunteer in the battle of Prague; little suspecting it should hereafter be the pride of his life to offer a solace to that very princess, whose father he had aided to precipitate from a throne. Convinced by the results of this campaign, that the supreme good was not to be found in wars, he made a pilgrimage to Loretto; as-

sisted at the grand jubilee at Rome; and having paid his tribute to the superstition of his age, appears to have secretly sighed for emancipation from religious bigotry. To no motive but the love of toleration could be ascribed his choice of Amsterdam for a residence, where, as he himself tells us, he was completely insulated from learned men.*

* In a letter to a friend, written two years after his removal, Descartes gives a singular reason for his partiality to this country. "Whatever may be the attractions "of a country village, it must always be destitute of "many comforts and accommodations; neither is it pos- "sible entirely to exclude the intrusion of your neigh- "bours, whose visits may be just as troublesome as those "you receive in Paris. But in this great city of Amster- "dam, from whence I write, there not being a single "man besides myself who is not engrossed with mer- "cantile concerns, I am at liberty to remain my whole "life in solitude. I walk every day among a multi- "tude of people, with as much ease and liberty as you "could saunter through the alleys of your garden; I "survey the men who pass before my eyes but as trees "of the forest; nor has the buzz around me more "power to disturb my reveries, than the murmurs of "some trickling rill. If it be pleasant to watch the "growth of trees, and the ripening of fruits, think how "much more delightful it must be, to see not only the "produce of Europe, but of the Indies, wafted to our

After having lived in this seclusion some years, Descartes was not unwilling to resume his place in cultivated society. Through the medium of Baron Achatius d'Hona, with whom the Palatine Princess Elizabeth corresponded, he was introduced to the Queen of Bohemia and her eldest daughter; by the former, he was received with amenity; by the latter, who was already enamoured of metaphysics, he was welcomed as a monitor — almost as an intimate friend, long sought, but who had hitherto remained unknown. From the pleasant village of Egmond, in the district of Alcmaer, Descartes made frequent excursions to the Hague, for the privilege of conversing with his royal pupil, in whom he discovered, with no less surprise than delight, a mind capable of exploring erudite questions, and of comprehending the

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" ports. In what other country can one hope to en-
" joy such perfect freedom from care? The national
" troops are our sentinels, that we may sleep secure;
" neither poison, treason, nor stratagem are to us op-
" posed." Lettres de Rénée Descartes.

most sublime truths. In the society and principles of Descartes, Elizabeth found relief, if not repose, from the petty cabals of her mother's courtiers, the irksome cares and turmoils of diurnal life, and the ambitious solicitudes of her unfortunate family. In entering on a new and difficult course of study, she perceived a secure retreat from the painful impressions to which she was peculiarly exposed by the elevation and refinement of her sentiments and affections. During the negotiations with Ladislaus, she was aware that the members of her family coveted for her a distinction which she was herself disposed to deprecate. Fortunately, she had her mother's sanction in refusing to compromise her religious principles; and as, in reality, Ladislaus merely sought to gain time by prolonging negotiation, the negative result of the treaty was acceptable to both parties; each of whom claimed the honour of renouncing the marriage from scruples of conscience. That Elizabeth sincerely rejoiced at her deliver-

ance from regal pomp in barbarous Poland, is, however, to be inferred from the eagerness with which, immediately after the termination of this treaty, she proclaimed her unalterable resolution never to renounce her virgin liberty for any prince, whether Protestant or Catholic; and to dedicate her future days to letters and philosophy. Whether she secretly cherished a preference for any other object must be left to conjecture; but, from her general character, it is to be inferred, that even her sympathies were uniformly controuled by reason and propriety. The misfortunes of her family had checked the exuberances of imagination; the prejudices of a German princess forbade an alliance with a man of inferior rank, however worthy of regard; the sensibilities of a refined intellectual woman revolted from the forward condescension, to which several royal ladies of that age had submitted, and of which an example had been presented by her kinswoman, Catherine of Brandenburg.

Influenced by these considerations, Elizabeth consistently resolved to renounce the world, without quitting it, to dedicate her future days, not to monastic seclusion, but to generous efforts for the welfare of her relatives, the happiness of her friends, and the Christian offices of charity and beneficence. The conversation, the science, the sympathies of Descartes, filled the vacuum which she might otherwise have begun to perceive in her limited sphere of action and enjoyment; nor could she contemn the celebrity which she soon acquired by the suffrage of the solitary philosopher, who pronounced her the miracle of Northern Europe.

At this period, however, another woman, still younger than herself, divided the admiration of Descartes; this was Anna Schurman, whom poets, scholars, and philosophers, have proclaimed the gem of Utrecht *; the

* In reality, there was a woman without scholastic learning, with far higher pretensions to originality and genius than Anna Schurman, or the Princess Palatine;

reputation of whose extraordinary attainments procured her (in 1644) the honor of a visit from Maria Gonzaguè, who, accompanied by the Mareschalle de Guebriant, passed through Holland in her way to Poland, to whose monarch, Ladislaus, she was now journeying, in the character of an elect bride. There could scarcely be a more striking contrast than that presented by the handsome, ambitious Queen of Poland, in her gorgeous habiliments, her intuitive knowledge of courts, and her profound ignorance of classical, scholastic, or even elegant literature, with the modest, ingenious, intelligent Schurman, who with equal facility employed the graver, the chisel, and the pencil; and whose various literary compositions in French, Italian, and Latin extorted admiration even from her enlightened contemporaries.* The apartment in which she

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this was Anna Fischer, whose elegant little poem on the Nightingale is inserted in the Batavian Anthology.

* Several of this lady's Latin and Dutch poems are extant.

received the Queen of Poland, was a repository of pictures, models, sketches, prints, and designs, which bore ample testimony to the versatile talents and unparalleled diligence that produced them. Whilst the royal bride examined these specimens of Schurman's ingenuity, two or three eminent scholars in her suite challenged her to dispute with them on abstruse subjects in Latin or Greek; but they were soon discouraged by the discovery that the fair Batavian had long since added to these not merely the Hebrew, but a knowledge of the Syriac and Chaldaic languages; "yet," adds Madame de Guebriant, "even "Anna Schurman is said to be inferior to "the Palatine Princess Elizabeth, who is "called the Star of the North."*

* The following extract from Madame de Guebriant's tour, may be compared with the sketch of Amsterdam, already given by Descartes.

"They call Amsterdam the mart of the world; but, "in my opinion, 'tis the great Babylon for beauty, "wealth, and magnificence, the pride of its inha- "bitants, the confusion of tongues, and the abun- "dance of religious opinions.' It is commonly

Congenial as were the tastes and pursuits of the Princess Palatine with those of Anna

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" said, that Holland has little wood, and no forests;
" but does the wood of Ardennes afford more trees
" than the groves of masts presented on the River
" Amster, and do not those proud sails extend six
" miles of sea? All these vessels are heavily laden;
" yet no sooner have they been discharged of their
" freight, than the merchants fill them again; and
" within their bark are whole families lodged, who
" dwell therein night and day; yet, everywhere through
" the streets, the shops, the very canals, we find a mul-
" titude of people, a superfluity of population: it is
" by the canals that the goods are floated to the
" warehouses of the merchants, which resemble
" palaces; whilst in their dwelling-houses no article
" of luxury, no elegance of painting or sculpture is
" wanting; there are trellis gates at the portals; and
" the goods are deposited under doric arches: all
" these fleets of merchandize and merchants, are so
" many fleets of vices and disorderly sects, which the
" necessity of commerce introduces to this city. The
" Catholics here enjoy less freedom than the Jews;
" who are freely allowed their synagogue: they are,
" nevertheless, in great numbers; and the Bishop
" D'Orange, who attended the Queen of Poland, had
" the charity to confirm them. The most magnificent
" of all these warehouses is that appropriated to East
" India commerce, where the Queen was treated with

Schurman, and intimate as they became at a later stage of life, they at this time associated little together; the inclinations of the former being controuled by the fortunes, and perhaps the prejudices of her family.

In the meanwhile, the war in Germany continued, but with no reference to the restitution of the Palatinate. Embroiled with his parliament, Charles the First was no longer in a position to aid in any enterprise for its recovery, nor even to afford his

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" a collation of foreign spices and confections, of " which the very name is not known in France. The " canals are here as numerous as the streets, planted " on either side with trees; carriages are interdicted, " neither saddle nor stable is to be found, but in the " suburbs. To render a residence here agreeable to " persons of every class, nothing is wanting but that " the burgomasters should be more conversible." — Madame de Guebriant expatiates on the enormous contributions levied on persons of rank at the hotels; declaring, that " if the Queen had not been defrayed " by the States, she must have been imprisoned for " debt, ere she had quitted Amsterdam, the charge " for only two meals for six gentlemen amounting to " eight hundred livres."

relatives those pecuniary aids with which they had hitherto been supplied. It was in vain that the Prince Elector repaired to England, to demand the arrears of his mother's pension. The munificence of Lord Craven was again interposed to protect her from farther humiliation.*

The good offices of the Prince of Orange were unexpectedly engrossed by a new and importunate claimant; this was no other than Henrietta Maria; who suddenly landed in Holland, with her daughter, the princess royal, whom she thankfully consigned to the Stadtholder's protection; eager to pay every grateful attention to so illustrious a personage, Henry gladly engaged the presence of the Queen of Bohemia in the splendid procession with which he received the Queen of Great Britain. It was thus that Elizabeth and Henrietta were at length presented to each other; and thus did adversity produce a transient intimacy be-

* See, in a volume of Tracts, the article Perkins.

tween two persons, who in their dispositions, natural and acquired, in habits and principles, were strikingly dissimilar. But little as Elizabeth could cordially approve the sister-in-law, to whose interference she attributed with reason many of her former disappointments, she sympathized tenderly in her distresses, and administered whatever consolation or relief she had to bestow. To her brother she was unalterably attached: nor could either his coldness, his caprice, or even his duplicity efface the sentiments which she had cherished during the best years of existence. In her niece, she seemed to receive another daughter, scarcely less dear than her own children; by the young Princess, who had been educated in Protestant principles, she was with equal cordiality adopted as a second mother; during many succeeding years their mutual attachment increased, nor did any subjects of dissension ever arise between them.

The commencement of the civil wars in England produced a new series of distresses

to Elizabeth. Ambitious of distinction, her favorite, Rupert, eagerly offered his services to his uncle Charles, and was accepted. His brother, Maurice, from whom, since his return from Germany, he had been almost inseparable, followed his example. Whatever military reputation those Princes acquired, was at the expense of their mother's popularity. From this period she became an object of suspicion to the Puritans by whom she had been once fondly designated the Pearl of Britain, nor did she ever regain with that party the affection she had formerly possessed. In the meanwhile the Prince Elector still followed the court, with his unwelcome solicitations, till wearied and disgusted, and with his native sagacity, foreseeing which party would ultimately prove successful, he presented a memorial to the parliament, in which, after deploring the misconduct of his brothers, he stated his necessities and those of his mother, prayed for the payment of his pension, so long

suspended: and concluded with strong professions of attachment to the covenant.

This memorial being well received, the Prince Elector returned to the Hague, where he expected to reconcile his mother to the step he had taken, by an assurance, that she would find the parliament better disposed to promote her interests than the king her brother. The principles and feelings of Elizabeth revolted from this doctrine of expediency: without entering into the political part of the question, in which she would probably have found her brother's conduct indefensible, she insisted on the ties of blood, the baseness of tergiversation, and the disgrace attached to those who trampled on the claims of honor and nature. Regardless of her opinions, the Prince Elector quickly returned to England, not merely to renew his petition for relief, but to offer to the parliament his free aid and service, assuring them, his heart was faithfully devoted to their cause; and that he desired nothing so much as to co-operate

with their endeavours in restoring public tranquillity. *

To this proposal the parliament listened with distrust, nor was it without considerable opposition that the Prince so far gained credit for his sincerity as to obtain the payment of several thousand pounds, with the grant of a future pension of ten thousand per annum, of which eight were to be appropriated to himself, and the remaining two to his mother. † It does not appear that Elizabeth received her share in this stipend. No circumstances, perhaps, could have vanquished her repugnance to a measure which proclaimed the unnatural separation of interests and affections in her family "It "was not thus," she said, "that the Palatine "Princes had been accustomed to act to- "wards each other: far different were the "lessons transmitted from their ancestors; "with far different expectations had the

* See Whitelock's Memorials. † Ibid.

" virtuous Juliana bequeathed to the Prince " Elector her solemn benediction."

Early in 1644, that excellent Princess had breathed her last in the arms of her daughter Catherine, with whom, since her precipitate retreat from Heidelberg, she had lived, under the protection of the Elector, George William of Brandenburg, whose consort laboured by every filial attention to soften to her declining years the sense of dependence. Encircled by near and affectionate relatives, Juliana had long ceased to regret for herself the loss of wealth and power; whilst, by her mildness and wisdom, she insensibly acquired a mental empire, of which even her son-in-law, George William, sometimes confessed the influence.

In her dying moments, her language and deportment were such as became the daughter of William of Nassau. Impressed, on the first symptoms of indisposition, with a presage of approaching dissolution, she ad-

mitted the visits of her relatives, and of the courtiers: she conversed freely with her pastors on the grounds of her Christian faith, exacted from her ladies during several hours, the reading of select passages of Scripture, and repeatedly proclaimed her eagerness to be admitted to the mansions of immortality. Amidst these sublime meditations, she omitted not to arrange the few worldly affairs that claimed her attention; after which she took a solemn leave of the widowed Queen of Sweden, who now resided in her brother's court, and of all her chosen friends; neither did she exclude from her apartment any individual with whom she had been accustomed to communicate: to her daughter Catherine she entrusted the arduous task of transmitting her tender valedictions to those she loved. "Give my farewell "to the Queen of Bohemia; tell her, "that in my last moments I gave her my "solemn benediction. In this world, I "shall never meet her more, but it shall be

"the last prayer on my lips, that she may "long survive to taste whatever health, "gladness, or satisfaction this world has "to bestow, and to enjoy all the blessings "she so well deserves. Let her know how "much from my inmost heart and soul I "have loved and honoured her, and that "I declared these sentiments in the hour "of death."

Few women, even in that age, in which the sex appears to have been held in peculiar reverence, might challenge equality with Juliana of Nassau, who to the sagacity of a statesman, united the generous sympathies of a woman, and the magnanimity of a hero. There is perhaps no feature in her character more honourable than the attachment she displayed to the Queen of Bohemia, to whose opinions she had sometimes been adverse, and to whose ascendant, in one instance, she could not but ascribe many of the sorrows of her declining days.

Amidst the various trials of Elizabeth, she had hitherto escaped witnessing those

evils she most deprecated of domestic discord and religious apostacy. Against the seductions of Catholic teachers, she had employed every precaution that prudence or solicitude could suggest. Under the circumstances in which her family had been placed, she regarded a dereliction of their faith, as an insult to their father's memory. She had inspired in her children kindred sentiments; their conduct had corresponded with these professions; and she recollected with pride her daughter's rejection of Ladislaus, and Rupert's contempt of an Austrian prison. Even Charles Louis was on this point steady and consistent; but how was she humbled, when she saw in her fourth son a seceder from their common cause! Nor was she to be consoled for the stigma he had left on the Palatine family, by the persuasion that her son's perversion had been effected by the artifices of statesmen, and the blandishments of beauty. By whatever motives actuated, this young aspiring prince, in 1645, after the example

of his kinsman, the Duke de Bouillon, abjured the errors of heresy, was joyfully admitted to the bosom of the Catholic church, and recompensed for his submission, with the hand of the elder Princess of Nevers, daughter of the Duke of Mantua. Never, perhaps, did a change of religious sentiment excite such harsh and severe animadversion; there was not one of Edward's domestic relations to whom his death had not appeared a lighter evil than his apostacy; to the sorrow and surprise of Descartes, who himself professed to be a Catholic, even the Princess Elizabeth found philosophy inadequate to console her for the disgrace of her brother. The Prince Elector was the first and the loudest in fulminating his censures, to which, perhaps, he was as much prompted by policy as an imperious temper; having lately, in order to recommend himself to the Puritans, entered into the current topics of religious controversy, and actually assumed his place in the convocation of divines sitting at Westminster. Instead of

soothing the anguish with which his mother, in the bitterness of her soul, expressed a wish that she were dead, he loaded his brother with opprobrium, and concluded his invective by beseeching her to lay her curse on her younger son, Philip, if he should presume to follow his example. Nor did he scruple to avow the suspicion of Edward's hypocrisy, adding, "I am sure he cannot be so "easily persuaded of those fopperies which "he pretends to, (having been so well in-"structed in the contrary) as his letters "would persuade us; and I fear his obe-"dience to the church of Rome will lessen "that which he oweth to your Majesty's "commands. It is not for me to accuse "your wishing to die, though it were never "so unjust to yourself and yours; but ra-"ther to beseech God to confirm your Ma-"jesty in your former resolution to remit all "to his providence.* "

* See Bromley's Royal Letters.

Although the subsequent conduct of Edward gave no colour to the uncharitable surmise of Charles Louis,

The defection of Edward increased the vigilance of his family towards Philip, the younger brother, whose fiery spirit could ill brook restraint, and who was evidently formed, like Rupert, for martial adventure. To provide occupation for this youth, whom he had taken under his especial protection, the Prince Elector obtained an order from the parliament, empowering him to raise troops at Venice for their service. In consequence of this arrangement, Philip was permitted to come to England, to confer with his brother, to whom he owed the commission; but the parliament being still

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that some sinister design was couched under his conversion, there can be little doubt that he was determined to this step, by the offered alliance with Anne de Gonzague, and that he might have been disposed to recal his hasty abjuration, could he have foreseen it was to deprive his descendants of the triple crown of Britain. It is needless to remind the reader, that but for their religion, the offspring of Edward would have preceded those of the Electress Sophia, the mother of George the First.

distrustful of Charles Louis, the prince was not allowed to bring with him any companions.* On returning to the Hague, he took a step by which Elizabeth was fatally convinced there might be crimes more atrocious than apostacy.

Among the French cavaliers resident at the Hague was the Sieur d'Epinay, a young officer, notorious for libertinism and gallantries; the consequences of which had compelled him to quit his native county. He had not long resided in Holland, when, by a repetition of immoral conduct, he again created domestic jealousy; and at length for some cause, never sufficiently explained, offered to Prince Philip a public affront, for which that high-spirited youth swore to be revenged. The precise nature of this offence is not detailed; but, whatever might be its complexion, never could have justified the summary mode of vengeance adopted by Philip, who, one morning, accompanied by several armed men, attacked the

* See Whitelocke's Memorials.

defenceless culprit in the market-place, and in cold blood put him to death. * Conscious that he had committed an action which subjected him to judicial penalties, the prince escaped from the States, where his crime was held in universal execration, and by none more than his unhappy mother, who, in the bitterness of her anguish, vowed never again to own him for her son. The Prince Elector not only arraigned the justice of her resentment, but prevailed on Rupert to intercede in his behalf, with what effect does not appear. †

* This account is copied from a contemporary detail preserved in the Epistles of Heinsius. See, also, the Life of Rénée Descartes.

† It is not a little surprising with what effrontery Charles Louis affects to palliate the murder of an unarmed man, by representing it as a natural, and almost allowable consequence of an offence offered to princely dignity. The following letter is curious, if considered as the production of a man who took his place in the convocation of divines, affected much zeal for godliness, and had lately submitted to the parliament a proposition concerning religion, which a committee of the house were appointed to take into consideration. — See Whitelocke.

Shortly after d'Epinay's death an association was formed of fifty Frenchmen, who,

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" *To the Queen.*

" MADAM,

" My brother Rupert sending this bearer to your " Majesty about his business, I cannot omit to accom- " pany him with my humble request in favour of the " suit he hath to you in my brother's behalf; which, " since he can more fully represent it to your Majesty, " and that I have by the last post acquainted you with " it, I will not be farther troublesome therein. Only, " madam, give me leave to beg pardon in my brother " Philip's behalf, which I should have done sooner, if " I could have thought that he had needed it. The " consideration of his youth, of the affront he received, " of the blemish had lain upon him all his life-time, if " he had not resented it, but much more that of his " blood, and of his nearness to you, and to him to " whose ashes you have ever professed more love and " value than to any thing upon earth, cannot but be " sufficient to efface any ill impressions which the un- " worthy representation of the fact by those who joy " in the divisions of our family, may have made in " your mind against him. But I hope I am deceived " in what I hear of this, and that this precaution of " mine will seem but impertinent, and will more justly " deserve forgiving than my brother's action; since I " will still be confident that the good of your children, " the honour of your family, and your own, will pre-

mingling blood with wine, solemnly swore to revenge his inhuman murder. Although the object of their pursuit escaped the stroke of justice, his reputation was blasted, his hopes destroyed; and having no choice but to live as a soldier of fortune, he engaged in the civil wars of France, and was slain * during the commotions of that turbulent period. The proscription of Philip was followed by the departure of the eldest Princess Palatine from the Hague,

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" vail with you against any other consideration. And " thus I rest

" Your Majesty's

" Most humble and obedient

" Son and servant,

" CHARLES.

" *This* 10*th of July*, 1646."

* At the siege of Rethel, 1655. Du Maurier observes of Philip, that he was compelled to fly from the territories of the States for an affair better omitted than remembered. The fact, as related above, is in Aitzema's history; but the nature of the provocation given to Philip remains unexplained.

a circumstance for which various causes have been assigned, and, among others, the antipathy that the Queen of Bohemia is supposed to have conceived against her daughter, as having instigated her brother to perpetrate the outrage on the Sieur d'Epinay. It is difficult to conceive in what manner the Princess Palatine could have been implicated in that disgraceful transaction; that either by her mother, or by any individual acquainted with her character and pursuits, she should have been deemed capable of stimulating, or even approving an act of violence, is absolutely incredible; and what at once confutes the slander, the Queen of Bohemia continued occasionally to correspond with her eldest daughter, who regularly interchanged letters with her favourite Louisa; and so far was that unfortunate mother from proclaiming hostility against the meritorious Elizabeth, that, several years after, she chose to resent a slight which Christina, Queen of Sweden, had

offered to that Princess. * The true cause of the younger Elizabeth's departure is, with more probability, to be found in the misery and destitution impending over her mother's house, and in that strong sense of duty which prompted her, by a speedy removal, to lessen the common burthen.

Deprived of her English pension, of every thing but the income allowed her by the States, which had never been adequate to her maintenance, Elizabeth had long since resorted to the expedient of pawning her jewels, and of surrendering her rich and once highly-prized ornaments. By these sacrifices she had not purchased her exemption from debt and inquietude. The resources of her friends, and the forbearance of her creditors, seemed exhausted. From her native country she had apparently nothing to expect. Her former Scottish parti-

* See, in Evelyn, a letter from the Queen of Bohemia, in which she gives an account of having seen Christina at Brussels, but that she declined noticing her.

zans were dwindled away, and her once popular name was now rarely mentioned but as the mother of that terrible, outlandish cavalier, Rupert. The position of her brother's affairs filled her with dismay. Maurice and Rupert had embraced a cause utterly untenable; and not to them, but to Charles Louis, cold, crafty, and unfeeling, as he had long appeared to be, must she in future look for aid and support.

That the departure of the Princess Palatine was voluntary, or at least alone impelled by a sense of duty, is evident from a letter of Descartes*, which conveys an

* "The opportunity that presents itself of transmitting this through Monsieur Beclin, in whom I have entire confidence, induces me to confess an error, at least an omission, of which I stand convicted in the Essay upon the Passions, in which I have classed among propensities, indifferent or harmless, that habit of deferring the execution of things already resolved upon, and which ought to be promptly executed. That deliberation is proper, I am ready to admit; but the business once commenced, it cannot but be improper to affect delays." In conclusion he adds, "I am persuaded your high-

oblique censure on the seeming indecision that arrested her steps. The princess at length removed to the court of her aunt, the Electress Dowager of Brandenburg, where, according to Descartes, she enjoyed a tranquillity to which she had long been a stranger. And wisely did the philosopher admonish her to dismiss all painful subjects of recollection, and never to think of business, but when the courier was waiting for her dispatches. But absence could not prevent her from participating in the common grief of her family for the execution of Charles the First. At such a moment, all petty sources of dissension must be forgotten; even the apostate Edward * addressed to his mother a letter of condolence, which was kindly received. At the same time, the Prince Elector, not thinking

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" ness will easily comprehend the sentiment I wish to
" communicate, and that she will excuse the excess of
" zeal which prompts me thus to write."

* See Bromley's Letters.

it safe to trust entirely to the regicides, took leave of the parliament, not without stipulating for the future payment of his pension, and revisited the Hague. He witnessed the public rejoicings for the suspension of hostilities with Spain, which preceded the treaty of Munster, and which was but a prelude to the general peace, four months after concluded at Osnaburgh in Westphalia. It is unnecessary to inquire in what degree Elizabeth participated in those national sentiments of exultation, which pervaded all orders of the community. By the tragical termination of her brother's trials, she saw herself the last survivor of her father's house,—an outcast from one country, an alien in another; bereaved of friends, divided, or, still worse, estranged from the children for whom she had once felt a mother's tenderness. In such a state, it was not for Elizabeth to experience joy, however resolutely she might suppress indications, or even control emotions of sadness. Of all the cares

and anxieties of this distracting moment, perhaps the most corroding were those she suffered for Rupert's safety; nor could she be insensible to the calumnies and reproaches which were circulated against him by the adverse party*; least of all

* In the pamphlets of the day are many curious details of Prince Robert (or Rupert), commonly called the mad cavalier, to whom many excesses were attributed, for which his military training in Germany may, perhaps, furnish some apology. In a weekly paper, printed in 1648, is a humorous account of *Prince Robert's disguises*, which, in despite of its severity, conveys a high eulogium on the address and intrepidity with which that young captain frequently penetrated the hostile camp, in some disguise fitted for his purpose of concealment. In another paper, however, we find him accused of having meanly saved his own life, by exposing the soldier by whom he was personated, to the attacks of the enemy; upon which the writer remarks, "the habit doth not shew the "wit of the brain, nor the valour of the heart. It "may deceive the expectation, and make a peasant "seem a gallant prince, that yet is but a peasant; and "that prince, that doth use any ambiguity of habit to "eclipse his beams of honour, is but a counterfeited "sun. True honour is ever constant, and shines "brightest in the most apparent danger. But," continues this chivalrous writer, "though the prince be

could she disguise from herself the consciousness that the son, whom she had once forbidden to be a knight errant, was now an adventurer such as Mansfeld, or even a corsair. To Elizabeth, the retrospect of the last thirty years, and of the various revolutions of feeling she had experienced, must have been painful, if not appalling. Yet she neither expressed, nor probably felt, as much dissatisfaction as her eldest son, the only individual of her family whose interests had been considered in the late negociation. By the treaty of Westphalia, Charles Louis saw himself restored to the Lower Palatinate, the Upper being annexed to Bavaria. He was also permitted to resume the dignities of an Elector of the Empire, whilst for the Duke of Bavaria was created another electorate;

" not dead, he hath by this attempt lost much reputa-
" tion, and is dead in fame and honour, and lives but
" a languishing sacrifice, to be offered to the genius
" of this land by the soldier's sword." — Collection of Tracts printed in 1648—50.

and, what was galling to his pride and pertinacity, he was compelled to yield to that prince the precedence, and to surrender to him, in part, the privileges of the vicariate. In venting his complaints, however, Charles Louis should have remembered, that the war had long since changed its object, and that all particular and private interests had merged in those great and universal principles, which were in future to form the guarantee of national tranquillity. It was remarkable that the chiefs of either party had been baffled in their views of despotism or conquest: the Holy League was sundered; the Protestant Union annihilated; the generous spirit of Count Thurm might be reconciled to the Austrian eagle, which still triumphed on the tower of Prague, since the invidious contest between Catholic and Protestant had ceased, the unnatural competition of Lutheran and Calvinist was suspended. The tutelar Genius of Bohemia might mourn over violated rights and martyred patriots; but, in the provinces

of Germany, the name and authority of the Gospel were no longer profaned by the furies of civil discord. From the heart of the Roman Empire had emanated a system of Christian equality, between Catholics and Reformers, of which the wisdom has continued to be approved, unfortunately, without being imitated, even in more enlightened parts of Europe.

• It is remarked by Catholic writers, that as the war of thirty years had begun, it ended, in Bohemia, — the last enterprize of the Swedish troops being an attack on Prague, of which the lesser town was yielded, but the garrison of old Prague made a noble and effective resistance, thus, in part, redeeming the disgrace incurred by its former facility. The patriotic Count Thurm died in his own castle in Prague, having survived the war in which two of his sons had perished.

CHAPTER XV.

SEQUEL TO THE MEMOIRS OF ELIZABETH, TERMINATING IN 1662.

THE peace of Munster produced no favourable change in the situation of Elizabeth. In England, the faction of Cromwell was completely triumphant; and on the death of her nephew, William, Prince of Orange, (whose conduct had but too justly excited distrust,) the republican party, under the conduct of the De Witts, and secretly aided by the remaining friends of Barnevelt, formally excluded the House of Nassau from any future share of the government. Thus, within five years after the death of Henry Frederic, Elizabeth saw herself bereaved of all who could have befriended her in Eng-

land or the States. Her brother's children were proscribed vagrants, depending on charity for subsistence; her former correspondents and partizans were, many of them, removed by death, or assailed by confiscation and proscription. In her own family, she saw Charles Louis at length restored to the castle of his ancestors, and to a part of his dominions; but it was only to reiterate complaints of the beggary of his subjects, his dilapidated towns, and diminished patrimony. To his brothers, he had lately been a churlish, to his sisters an imperious kinsman; of the latter, Sophia and the Princess Palatine were admitted to his hospitality. Edward continued in France, where, with the aid of his wife's connections, he supported a royal establishment. Philip was still an outcast and an adventurer, yet abjured not the Protestant faith, and was, consequently, left unaided, to struggle with his fate. Amidst these various conflicts and revolutions, the situation of Maurice and Rupert excited deep

anguish in their mother's breast. After the death of Charles the First, the latter, with an intrepidity and constancy that justified her presages of his greatness, hoisted the royal flag, and, with a small naval force, maintained his kinsman's cause in Ireland, until driven from Kinsale by a superior force, he steered, accompanied by his brother Maurice, for Portugal, whither the parliamentary fleet soon pursued him.

At Lisbon, the self-elected royal admiral found a protector in John of Braganza, who, four years before, inspirited by his wife's counsels, had recovered the dominions wrested from his ancestors, and who had, subsequently, concluded a treaty of alliance with Charles the First, and, with chivalrous spirit, excluded from his ports the gallant Blake and a powerful squadron, by which the harbour of Lisbon was in consequence blockaded. Anxious to relieve his magnanimous friends from their unwelcome guests, Rupert seized a favourable opportunity to depart with his

few ships; but, far from tamely submitting to Cromwell, commenced a series of profitable attacks on British traders, and captured a rich Spanish ship, by which he revenged the wrongs of Frankenthal under the specious pretext of punishing an affront that had been offered to the flag of Charles the First.

After a successful cruise, Rupert returned to the British channel, and long hovered on the coast dreaded and detested, by the designation of the "invincible mad cavalier." During three years he wandered on the ocean, without a country, or even a friendly haven to receive him, persisting to enforce the pretensions of Charles Stuart, whom every potentate, every other ally or kinsman, had abandoned to his fate. It is impossible to withhold admiration from the fearless unconquerable spirit, with which the Royal Corsair alternately confronted or evaded his enemies; yet who could forbear to regret, that the native generosity of Rupert's temper should have been reconciled to such

an unjust and inhuman mode of subsistence. The difficulties of his situation appear to have stifled those moral principles originally implanted in his mind; and he continued his piratical career, until, having made an unsuccessful attempt to intercept the Spanish Plate fleet, he conducted his small squadron to the Caribbee Islands, where he had the misfortune to be parted from his brother Maurice, whom he was never to meet again. Dispirited by this separation, although little suspecting it was to prove eternal, Rupert sailed towards the coast of France, and finally landed at Nantz in Brittany, resolved to abandon a vocation at once perilous and disgraceful. A severe illness confirmed this resolution, to which were added the prayers, if not the commands, of his mother, and the more touching solicitude of some lady, apparently of rank not inferior to his own, with whom, at this time, he kept up an occasional correspondence. On his recovery, Rupert accepted an invitation

from the King of France, at whose court he was cordially welcomed; but from whence he hastened to the Hague, to reanimate his mother's hopes. It was in 1653 that this meeting took place, after a separation of five years, during which many important changes had occurred. Rupert found his mother removed from her former residence in the Castle, in which she had been lodged by the States, and with a diminished household, and only one daughter to cheer her solitude. The two dowager Princesses of Orange both lived in retirement. Amelia Solms, who had accumulated great wealth, resided in a beautiful palace she had lately erected near the Hague; whilst the youthful relict of William, Mary of England, bewailed the calamities of her family, without the power to suspend, or even to alleviate them. The republican party, which predominated in the government, maintained friendship with Cromwell: and the De Witts, in decreeing the future exclusion of the

Princes of Nassau, avenged the injuries, and verified the predictions of Barnevelt.

The Queen of Bohemia continued to receive pecuniary contributions from the States; but the original grant, which had been limited to the proscription of her house from the Palatinate, was necessarily cancelled by the restoration of Charles Louis, on whom, by every principle of equity and justice, the maintenance of his mother should have devolved. The Elector had hitherto evaded this obligation under various vexatious pretexts; and so inadequate was the stipend which he transmitted, that Elizabeth saw herself constrained, not only to accept the aid of friends, but to solicit the bounty of strangers. In spite of his complaints of poverty, the Elector had married and established a royal court, from which Elizabeth flattered herself he might be willing to purchase her absence by augmenting her allowance. In the meanwhile, her household had been diminished, and deprived of its fairest attractions. Henrietta Maria had,

in 1651, espoused Ragotzi, Prince of Transylvania, and Sophia, who to sense and learning added wit and beauty, and who, either for these qualities, or from the circumstance of her being his youngest sister, engrossed the partiality of Charles Louis, had gladly obeyed his summons to Heidelberg. The marriage of Henrietta had been inauspicious, the funeral solemnity having almost suspended the bridal triumph.* She was a princess of exemplary goodness, equally beloved and regretted. The bitter experience of Elizabeth might, perhaps, suggest consolation for her daughter's untimely grave: the long protracted suspense for the doubtful fate of Maurice, the early and almost inseparable companion of Rupert, was a trial infinitely more painful. Of all her sons he had, probably, been the only one who never occasioned her serious uneasi-

* She was married in the month of May 1651, and died in the following September. Prince Ragotzi succeeded Bethlem Gabor, or rather his widow, Catharine of Brandenburg, who, two years after his death, had surrendered her authority.

ness. If he participated not in the genius of Rupert, he was free from his impetuous passions, and not inferior to him in bravery and generosity. From the moment that the two princes separated near Jamaica, the fate of Maurice remained unknown; and, after various rumours and conjectures *, his family had no alternative but to adopt the mournful conclusion that his ship had foundered at sea.

During Rupert's visit at the Hague he consulted his mother respecting his future establishment; having conceived the idea of forming a royal alliance. To this step he might be encouraged by the discord which prevailed in his brother's household. Charles Louis had espoused a princess of Hesse, from whom, after the birth of two children, he separated, in a manner, and from a motive, that plainly proved how hypocritical

* That Elizabeth was long in anxious suspense appears by a letter from the Elector Palatine, written in 1654, in which he reasons on the probability that his brother Maurice was in captivity at Constantinople.

were his pretensions to religion and morality. This was no other than intruding on the presence of his consort a lady with whom he had formed an illicit connexion, and by whom he eventually became the father of a numerous progeny. Too virtuous to connive at such flagitious conduct, the Electress withdrew to her brother's court at Cassel, leaving her faithless spouse, with his usual acuteness of sophistry, to invent excuses for his ill-regulated passions. Aware of the insuperable bar which existed to the re-union of this royal pair, Rupert listened not unwillingly to the counsels of his mother and his sister, the Princess Palatine Elizabeth, who cordially espoused the interests of her sister-in-law. Hitherto the private conduct of Rupert had been such as characterised the cavalier of his day: after having lived with one or two women of rank, who submitted to the ignominious name of mistress, he intrigued with a lady of quality in France, and to another was the object of an ardent, virtuous attach-

ment.*. Naturally aspiring, the love of glory, which had hitherto been his ruling passion, suddenly yielded to political calculation and a predilection for domestic life. He immediately announced to the Elector the resolution he had taken, demanding the cession of Kaisers Lautern, or some other district, to enable him to form an establishment suited to his birth and pretensions. No proposition could have been less acceptable to Charles Louis, who not only refused to surrender any part of his territory, but evaded the equitable demand that he should at least settle on him an income equivalent to an elder brother's portion. The negociation between the royal kinsmen was long protracted; but Rupert was no match for the diplomatic Elector, who had been initiated

* By the Lady Francisca Bart he had a son, who fought bravely in the war of 1666. His daughter Ruperta was by the mistress who lived with him in his old age. In the Bromley Collection are several love-letters addressed to Prince Rupert. One of these fair correspondents appears to have been the lady he had solicited for his bride.

into all the refinements of political duplicity by the ministers of Charles the First and Louis the Thirteenth. The Queen of Bohemia gave him her warmest wishes* ; but, after a long and obstinate contest, Rupert was constrained to relinquish it, and the royal lady, who had surrendered to him her whole heart, was left with the poor resource which female pride affords to female tenderness — to endure neglect and desertion in silence.

To console himself for his disappointment, Rupert repaired to Vienna, where, as a soldier of fortune, he offered his services to the Emperor Ferdinand the Third. Scarcely had he arrived at that court, than having been apprised of a petty war in which his brother was about to be involved with the Bishop of Spire, he kindly offered to assist him in the re-

* "I wish you may make a good agreement with "El., whose protestation is much liked here. I wish "all his other actions were suitable to it." This protestation was a spirited vindication of the Palatine privileges, against the Elector of Bavaria.

duction of his enemies: but the sordid soul of Charles, ever suspicious of a sinister aim, recoiled from those suggestions of fraternal friendship, whilst, with hypocritical professions of gratitude, he declined accepting an overture, to which, he pretended, his brother would have sacrificed his own personal interests. In the sequel, Rupert obtained from the imperial court that employment which he solicited, and actually assumed the command of a body of troops, of which the object was to dislodge the Swedes from Pomerania. To a mind not destitute of moral sensibility, it must have been revolting to employ the sword against the defenders of a father's rights; but the military habits of Rupert permitted not the cultivation of refined feelings, nor could the native generosity of his temper resist the hardening effects of habitual adversity.*

* Of this obtuseness Prince Rupert gave a more decided proof in the war of 1666, when he attacked the fleets of that republic to which both his parents had owed protection, where his own childhood had

There was in these transactions something so utterly repugnant to the ingenuous spirit of Elizabeth, that it is impossible to believe she sanctioned them with her approbation; and, in reality, she did not scruple to intimate, that she wished her son to embrace the Swedish service.* The pledge which Rupert had formerly given to Austria might oppose her plan; and, having nothing but admonitions to bestow, she soon found these disregarded. Her claims on Charles were legal and reasonable, but she had not the authority to enforce them; nor did he blush to reduce her to the hard necessity of soliciting the charity of the States, by whom she began to be considered and treated as an incumbrance. Unhappily, the individual whose whole fortune would have been proudly offered to her acceptance, the only

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been kindly fostered, and from whose munificence his mother, during forty years, had derived her subsistence.

* See Bromley's Royal Letters.

efficient friend that she now possessed, was himself visited with fines and confiscations, which completely circumscribed his abilities to render her service.

Hitherto there had been gleams of sunshine in Elizabeth's perspective: either she rejoiced in the prosperity of her friends, or alleviated their afflictions. To her kinsman, the titular King of Scots, she had rendered essential services; and it was probably through her personal influence that Lord Craven made the exiled monarch a donation of £50,000 sterling. Unfortunately, this liberality provoked the malice or cupidity of the reigning party in England, or rather of some of Cromwell's unprincipled agents, by whom Lord Craven was involved in a charge of constructive treason, as having aided and abetted the enemies of the Commonwealth. In support of this accusation no evidence could be produced but the suborned testimony of one Captain Falkonar, a notorious spy, who pretended that, by the intervention of the Queen of Bohemia, Lord Craven

had enlisted volunteers for the service of Charles Stuart. Although the falsehood of this allegation was clearly proved, the Craven estates were sequestrated, excepting only Combe Abbey, in which the presumptive heir had an interest. In the late contest Lord Craven had never interfered, and it was notorious that he was in the service of the States, and held the titular office of master of the horse to the Elector Palatine, who was on cordial terms with the chiefs of the Commonwealth. But vain were the appeals of Lord Craven and his friends, or the testimonies repeatedly produced of his innocence: the estates were ordered to be sold for the use of the navy; nor until the epoch of the Restoration was the owner permitted to derive any benefit from his immense possessions.*

* See Brydge's Peerage; also, in a collection of tracts, the parliamentary proceedings for 1650-1, 2, 3. The father of Lord Craven had purchased Combe Abbey of Lucy, Countess of Bedford. His two brothers having died without issue, the remainder of the title was extended to his cousin-german, Sir William

Deprived of this nobleman's munificence, Elizabeth had no resource but in her son Charles Louis, from whom she received such sparing supplies, that she was at length unwillingly induced to propose returning to Germany. Although this intimation was wholly unacceptable to the Elector Palatine, he affected to rejoice in the anticipation of her arrival in Heidelberg; and, although he well knew that she expected to establish herself at Frankenthal, he pretended that she was to become the inmate of the old castle, and begged to know what apartments should be prepared for her reception. At the same time, he took care to offer such a picture of German society, as must offend her taste. "I can name few men who are conversible, "and the women as little; and what they "imitate, is still the worst part. Those that "are for the French, have nothing from

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Craven, who had married the daughter of Lord Fairfax, and afterwards to Sir Arthur Craven, from whom the present Earl of Craven is descended.

"them but their cloaths, good letters ill "spelled, and the *afféteries* of the *Marais**, "from whence they have all their modes. "For the Spaniards, they show off their "guard Infantas only; in every thing else "as dull and impertinent as can be." — He then adds, in a manner evidently intended to convey reproach, "I am much "bound to your Majesty for your gracious "wish, and had been glad to know the king "my father's saying when I spoke to your "Majesty of my intentions at my last coming "out of England, in your bed-chamber; "but any stranger may be deceived in that "humour, since towards them there is no-"thing but mildness and complaisance un-"til accustomed to them. But patience; "every one must bear their task; and it is "mine to bear several. If," he adds, hypocritically, "I may deserve your Majesty's "favour, it will be the greatest comfort."

* *Les Marais* — then as now the least fashionable part of Paris.

Provoked by this evasion, Elizabeth wrote expressly to stipulate for Frankenthal; to which the Elector, with well-feigned astonishment, replied, "Sure, your Majesty had "forgotten in what condition the house at "Frankenthal, which they call the Schaf-"foret, is in, when you were pleased to "write of preparing it for you; for no pre-"paration would have made that fit for your "living in it; but a whole new building; "which, to do on a sudden, or in a few "years, my purse was never yet in a con-"dition for it; but I intended to do it by "little and little. If your Majesty had "come hither, I had done a little last year. "As for the accidents falling out in my do-"mestic affairs," adds he, with effrontery, "it is as likely they had not happened had "your Majesty been present; and if any "other inconvenience had happened with "regard to two families, (which was not "likely,) it might always have been remedied "by a separation. As for the taking upon "me your Majesty's debts, which were made

" upon another score, I believe it cannot
" justly be claimed: and it is believed, that
" if your Majesty had shown the States any
" earnest intention to come hither, they
" would have taken some order to have ap-
" peased your creditors."

By refusing to discharge his mother's debts, Charles Louis effectually secured himself from her unwelcome presence, Elizabeth having resolved never to leave Holland until her creditors should be satisfied. The negociation was, however, still protracted, and the queen wrote to Sir Edward Nichols*, that the objections to her removal rested not with her. Amidst all these embarrassments, she made an excursion to Brussels, where she saw Queen Christina, to whom she declined being introduced, chiefly, it should seem, because that princess had treated with marked disrespect her meritorious daughter, the Princess Palatine.†

* See in Evelyn, 2d vol.

† See Bray's Evelyn, vol. ii. This is a proof that the Queen of Bohemia was cordial with the Princess

Under all her chagrins Elizabeth preserved her wonted elasticity of character, and rode and hunted with her accustomed vivacity. In 1658 she had a fresh contest with the Elector, who had just given his sister Sophia to Ernest Augustus, Bishop of Osnabruck, the youngest brother of the Duke of Brunswick; a marriage which, at the time, promised little advantage to a Princess Palatine, but from which Charles Louis extracted an ample apology * for re-

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Palatine. But the Editor of Evelyn's Letters is mistaken in attributing the coolness of the two queens to rivalry or jealousy respecting Descartes. Disparity of years and situation rendered either of these impossible; neither had Elizabeth any correspondence with Descartes, nor was she ever in the slightest degree addicted to metaphysical speculations. It is another mistake to ascribe to her the correspondence of William Penn, whose travels in Holland and Germany commenced not till 1677, many years after the Queen of Bohemia had ceased to exist. In all these instances the Queen of Bohemia is confounded with her daughter, the Princess Palatine.

* Charles Louis never failed to find an excuse with which to evade his mother's claims. "The expences "about my sister's marriage, not for the ceremonies

fusing his mother's solicitations. Elizabeth had long been inured to her son's unkindness; but she consoled herself with Rupert and Louisa, that favourite daughter, devoted to the fine arts, the productions of whose pencil were not unworthy of comparison with her master, Gerard Horst, and who alone, of all her sisters, resisted every invitation to quit her mother's dreary home. Hitherto, Elizabeth had reposed in her perfect sincerity, and was either ignorant or unsuspicious of any private connections she had formed with priests or nuns. At length this information came to her in a manner she had least expected, when, without pre-

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" or pomp, but for the realities fit for her, to which I " am obliged, render me incapable of what your Ma- " jesty is pleased to require of me, concerning the " 7000 rix dollars; for, besides her due, which I must " advance, I am bound to an extraordinary dowry, more " especially for the friendship she always shewed me, " and because nobody else hath done any thing for " her. Withal, your Majesty will be pleased to con- " sider that though there be no apparent danger of " war for the present, yet the great expences I have " been at at Frankenthal," &c.

paration or apology, Louisa one morning quitted her mother's house, leaving on her dressing-table a billet, which contained but these words: "I depart for France, to em- "brace the true faith, and to take the vows." By whatever motives Louisa had been originally prompted to take this step, she appears, on the present occasion, to have been alone sustained by religious enthusiasm, since, owing to the treachery of a prioress in whom she had confided, certain injurious calumnies had been transmitted to her brother Edward, who refused to hold with her any communication until her innocence should be demonstrated. Notwithstanding this discouragement, Louisa, without either friend or attendant, proceeded to Antwerp, where, having abjured her heresy, she was by the bishop admitted within a convent. In the meanwhile, her agonized mother alternately arraigned the duplicity or bewailed the desertion of her favourite child.*

*The following letter is worthy of attention, as a specimen of the familiar style in which she addressed

But of all these afflictions, nothing touched her so sensibly as the stigma which had

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her beloved Rupert, and as a proof that sorrow had not robbed her of that vein of playfulness which always rendered her society exhilarating.

" My Lord Fraser sent you a letter from Portugal,
" and two cases of Portugal oranges; two for the king
" and two for me: as soon as the things are come from
" Rotterdam, you shall have your part sent you. I
" believe Lord Craven will tell you how much ado
" he had to save your part from me, for I have made
" him believe I would take one of your cases for my
" niece and the Prince of Orange. I did it to vex him.
" The king and my niece and my other nephew were
" at Antwerp, and went to see Louisa in the monastery.
" I sent the copy of Sir Thomas Berkeley's letter to
" Broughton. My nephew and niece did write to me,
" before they saw her, to know if I would be content
" they should see her, which I told them would be
" too much honor for her; but, because the prioress
" of Q. had told such base lies, they would do a good
" action to see her, to justify her innocence. The
" prioress of Q. did go to Antwerp twice, and spoke
" with Louisa. I have not yet the particulars. Louisa
" writes, they parted on ill terms. The prioress made
" many believe, on her return, she brought me letters
" from the king, my niece, and Louisa, to justify her,
" and talked two hours with me, which is a most im-
" pudent lie. Cromwell has broken his mock parlia-

been cast on her daughter's fair fame; and, unkindly as she had been forsaken, she suppressed her resentment, to enforce the vindication of her innocence.

The particular circumstances of this transaction cannot now be collected: but

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" ment, because the independents were too strong for " him. I must tell you," she adds, evidently with returning affection to Louisa, " I am more beholden to " the Spanish Ambassador, to the Sweden and Den- " mark residents, than to your brothers, for they would " not visit the prioress of Q.

" I forgot to say that the king and my niece did " chide Louisa for her change of religion, and leaving " me so unhandsomely: she answered, that she was very " well satisfied with her change; but very sorry that " she had displeased me. Just now, the French letters " are come — writes to me, that the Bishop of Ant- " werp has written a letter to your brother Edward, " where he clears Louisa of that base calumny; yet " Ned is so wilful, he excuses the Princess of Toleme." Bromley's Royal Letters, page 287. — Of the precise nature of the charges which were brought against Louisa history affords no elucidation; but the testimony of Elizabeth in her daughter's favour, even during her displeasure, is conclusive against the insinuations conveyed by the slanderous epistles of the Duchess of Orleans.

it appears from Elizabeth's correspondence, that Louisa's vindication was finally accepted even by her brother Edward. After a detention of some months in Antwerp, she proceeded to Paris, and entered the convent at Chaillot, where she was visited with marked attention by Henrietta Maria, the Queen-mother of France, and other illustrious personages. "The Queen of England," says Elizabeth, "has asked her pardon; but I have "excused it as handsomely as I could, and "begged her not to take it ill; but to think "how she would have felt had she had the "same misfortune." After this final separation from her favourite child, Elizabeth became more than ever impatient to quit the Hague and her importunate creditors; and, finally, addressed to Charles Louis the following earnest expostulation, of which every line bespeaks the bitterness of anguish and disappointment:—

"SON,

"I thought to have written to you by Flocr-

" I thought —— was but gone to Amster-
" dam. I have staid till now, believing
" he would have come to me before he went;
" but now I see he is at Heidelberg. I send
" this by the post; to let you know the
" States have given me for my kitchen one
" thousand guilders a month, till I shall be
" able to go from hence, which God knows
" how and when that will be for my debts;
" wherefore, I earnestly entreat you to do
" so much for me, as to augment that money
" which you give me, and then I shall make
" a shift to live a little something reason-
" able; and you did always promise me, that
" as your country bettered, you would in-
" crease my means, till you were able to
" give me my jointure. I do not ask you
" much; if you would add but what you did
" hint, you would do me a great kindness
" by it, and make me see you have still an
" affection for me, and put me in a confi-
" dence of it: since you cannot yet pay me
" all that is my due, that will shew to the

" world you desire it, if you could. I pray
" do this for me; you will much comfort
" me by it, who am in so ill a condition, as
" it takes all comfort from me. I am making
" my house as little as I can, that I may sub-
" sist by the little I have, till I shall be able
" to come to you; which, since I cannot do
" because of my debts, which I am not able
" to pay, neither the new nor the old: if
" you do not as I desire you, I am sure I
" shall not increase. As you love me, I do
" conjure you to give an answer, and by
" the time commonly, and you will tie me
" to continue, as I am, most truly yours."*

It is probable that this letter would have been as little regarded as those by which it was preceded; but that a revolution in the affairs of England seconded the Queen's importunities. The Elector began to consider that she was the aunt of the King of Great Britain; and, therefore, vouchsafed a fa-

* See Bromley's Letters.

vourable answer, for which she expressed sincere gratitude.†

Abstracted from policy, his heart was at this moment softened by the untimely end of his favourite child *, (born in England,) whose maternal relations extended their protection to the offspring of his illicit love. In the bitterness of his grief, Charles Louis naturally looked to his mother for sympathy and consolation; but it was not long ere he had, in his turn, to offer condolence to her.

* See her Letter at the end of the volume.

† This youth was called the Baron of Rosenchild: his mother was an English countess.—See Schannat's Histoire Abregés de la Maison Palatine.—Referring to his loss, Charles Louis says, "for the too early "ripeness of his understanding, besides the misfortunes "of his birth, made me, as much as was possible, hus- "band the affection I bore him, for fear my express- "ing it too much might injure his fortune towards "those on whom he ought to have depended, if God "gave him life; and the setting my heart too much "upon him might make his loss the more inconsolable "to me: but I see, God and nature have not vouch- "safed me to enjoy the fruits of my circumspection." Bromley's Royal Letters.

Shortly after the restoration of Charles the Second, the Princess of Orange, having wisely consigned her son to the protection of the States, repaired to England to meet the Queen Dowager Henrietta, and to witness her brother's auspicious coronation: during that short interval she continued to correspond with her aunt, who hoped to rejoin her in England; nor was it the least, though it proved to be the last, of Elizabeth's domestic afflictions, that this beloved niece fell a victim to the smallpox, and expired in the midst of public festivities. Bereaved of every object that had hitherto endeared or softened her residence in Holland, the Queen of Bohemia eagerly awaited the invitation, or rather the permission, of King Charles, to return to her native country. In the meanwhile Lord Craven was graciously received by the new sovereign, who conferred on him the dignity of Earl of Craven, Viscount Uffington.

The coronation having been accomplished, there appeared to be no rational motive

for suspending Elizabeth's departure; and having adjusted her affairs with her creditors*, she took leave of the States, and proceeded to Delft, where her baggage was already embarked; when, as she writes to Prince Rupert, she suddenly received an intimation from the King's ministers, that it would be more convenient if her visit were still delayed. Wounded, but not intimidated, Elizabeth instantly wrote to the chancellor, "that "having taken leave of her friends at the "Hague, she could not go back to it without "incurring disgrace; and that she never "would submit to: that she was willing to "return to Holland whenever his Majesty "required it; but that she must now depart "from thence without delay."† In conclud-

* To whom she probably assigned the ten thousand pounds, lately voted to her by the British parliament, in common with the Queen-dowager of England, and her two daughters.

† The letter which contains this information is erroneously dated 1655 instead of 1661; and, as the Queen writes in an enigmatical style, it is only by the mention of the coronation that the precise date is

ing her letter to her son, she adds, pathetical-
" ly, I go, with a resolution to suffer all things
" constantly. I thank God, he has given
" me courage. I shall not do as poor niece,
" but will resolve upon all misfortunes; I
" love you ever, my dear Rupert." *

By what motives Charles the Second was actuated when he wantonly inflicted this unmerited suffering on her, from whom he had ever experienced cordial friendship, remains for conjecture.

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ascertained. Other circumstances are, however, mentioned, which authenticate this reading. She had just seen Sophia, Duchess of Brunswick, who presented to her the Elector's son Charles, and Charlotte Elizabeth, afterwards Duchess of Orleans.

* " I forgot to tell you, that K. (the King) said, that " both by Lord Arlington and K. he had let me know " I should not come till K. (the King) thought fit. I " answer not that to (the) King; but tell chancellor, " that I thought it was only about the coronation, not " to have that trouble and charge." — Bromley's Letters, page 189. — In the same letter the queen mentions having seen her daughter Sophia, whom she found unchanged, and that Elizabeth was admitted as coadjutrix by the Abbess of Hervord.

To Charles himself it was probably a matter of indifference whether his aunt came or went, lived or died, provided that she made no demands on his treasury; and he no sooner found that the Earl of Craven was ready to afford her the accommodation of the mansion he had purchased from Sir Robert Drury, than he withdrew his opposition, and the long exiled princess landed, as she had embarked, at Margate.*

Never was any contrast more striking than that presented by her magnificent departure, and her solitary return. No crowds lined the coasts, no shouts resounded from the citizens, no homage was rendered by the nobles. Her former friends, the Puritans, were silent or subdued; the new race of courtiers despised that generous enthusiasm for liberty, which in her youth had formed the prominent feature of her character. Happily, present cares allowed her little time for retrospect; and Elizabeth

* On the 17th of May 1661. Her old protegé, Phineas Pett, was still living in honour and prosperity.

was met at least by one inalienable friend, by whom she was conducted to Drury House*, a pleasant and commodious mansion, surrounded by a delightful garden, teeming with romantic and historical associations. To this home was Elizabeth conducted; and here, by Lord Craven's munificence, she enjoyed all that belonged to a court, excepting its monotony or insincerity. Although she was well received by the king and the

* Drury House had been occupied by Sir Robert Drury in the time of Queen Elizabeth; and Essex had been here accustomed to meet the malcontents, to whom he owed his ruin. In the succeeding reign, the poet Donne, who was patronized by the Drury family, had an apartment allotted him in this mansion. After the Queen of Bohemia's death, Drury House, rebuilt by the Earl of Craven, and surrounded with a brick court, was designated as Craven House. In process of time, Drury Lane was built on the site of the garden; but a small part of the original mansion subsisted, having been converted into a tavern, the entrance to which was by Craven Court, and which, owing to traditional associations, was called the *Queen of Bohemia*. Over the door was exhibited an equestrian portrait of William Lord Craven. This tavern remained so lately as 1794, and a correct print of it is extant in that curious and entertaining work, Smith's Topography of London.

royal family, it does not appear from Evelyn, or any contemporary writer, that she went publicly to court, or was associated in any royal festivities.* But for whatever slights she experienced from her nephews she was consoled by her reunion with Prince Rupert, and in the belief that her remaining days would be spent in England. Ambition had long ceased to intrude on Elizabeth's tranquillity, and she now asked but to see her children virtuous and happy. Hitherto she had enjoyed good health, and by a congratulatory letter from her daughter, Sophia, it appears, that she had suppressed all discontent. Sophia expatiates on her mother's anticipated felicity in meeting the beautiful Infanta of Portugal, (for with beauty was every princess gratuitously invested,) who was soon expected in England. But this envied felicity was not reserved for Elizabeth.

* It appears from Pepy's Diary, that Elizabeth often visited the two royal theatres, sometimes accompanied by the King, sometimes by Lord Craven.

In the autumn she had removed to Leicester house, then the property of Sir Robert Sydney, Earl of Leicester, where she first betrayed symptoms of a broken constitution, and where she made her will; bequeathing her books, pictures, and papers to her incomparable friend and benefactor, the Earl of Craven. Of her illness no details have been transmitted; nor is this surprising: in the wane of life, without wealth and power, or youth and beauty, Elizabeth could little hope to inspire either sympathy or respect in the profligate courtiers of Charles the Second. That she had once been admired and eulogized was well known; but that moment had passed away with her prosperity, and her fine qualities, her intelligence, beneficence, and magnanimity were forgotten. The cause in which she had suffered was distasteful to the cavaliers. By the Puritans, had she sought them in Scotland, she had still been cherished; but where among the satellites of Charles should she find either partizans or friends?

In a contemporary chronicle, it is briefly stated, "that on the 13th of February 1662, "died the Queen of Bohemia, a princess of "talents and virtues not often equalled, "rarely surpassed."

In another journal, the event, instead of being simply narrated, is connected with political allusions, and rendered subservient to courtly adulation. *

By the intelligent and virtuous Evelyn, the death of Elizabeth is announced in a tone of commiseration; when he remarks, in the cant of the day, that after all her troubles, she came to die with her nephew, King Charles. To the States of Holland she had been previously indebted for subsistence;

* "The arrival of the Infanta, the joy whereof has "wiped away the tears occasioned by the death of the "King's aunt, the Queen of Bohemia, who died a little "before, having lived to survive all the misfortunes of "her family, which, almost from the time of her mar- "riage, had fallen thick upon it. Her death was fol- "lowed by a most violent tempestuous wind, whereby "divers persons were killed, and much damage done; "as though Heaven had designed thereby to intimate to

to the British sovereign she owed only the mockery of majesty in a royal funeral, whilst from Lord Craven she received the comforts which alone could soothe the parting hours of life. Even at this period he was occupied in watching the progress of a stately edifice at Hampstead Marshall, in Berks, which, under the super-

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" the world, that those troubles and calamities which " that princess and the royal family had suffered, were " now all blown over, and, like her, to rest in repose."

By the Earl of Leicester the event is announced to the Earl of Northumberland with an unfeeling levity, perfectly characteristic of the court of Charles the Second :—

" *Feb.* 17. 1661.

" I *heare* that as your lordship foretold in your let- " ter, my royal tenant is departed.* It seems the " fates did not think it fit that I should have the honor, " which indeed I never much *desyr'd*, to be the land- " lord of a *Queene*. It is a pity she did not live a few " hours more to *dye uppon* her wedding *daye*, and that " there is not as good a Poet to make her Epitaph, as " Dr. Donne, who wrote her Epithalamium on that " day, unto Saint Valentine."

* The Queen of Bohemia died at Leicester house, Feb. 13. 1662, in the 66th year of her age.—Sydney State Papers, vol. ii. p. 723.

intendence of that eminent architect, Sir Balthasar Gerbier, was to become a miniature Heidelberg. Originally consecrated to Elizabeth, it was not destined to receive any other occupant, being consumed by fire before it had been inhabited; an accident which deprived the daughter of James the First of a nobler monument than that which the pride of royalty, rather than the tenderness of consanguinity, erected to her memory in Westminster Abbey. *

* The body lay in state, and was interred the 1st of March 1662.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

A brief notice of the three surviving Daughters of the Queen of Bohemia, Elizabeth, Louisa, and Sophia.

ELIZABETH, the eldest daughter of the Elector Palatine, was born at Heidelberg, on the 26th of December 1618, the year preceding his elevation to the throne of Bohemia. The misfortunes of her family cast a gloom over her early childhood; her first recollections were of invasion and exile, sorrow and solicitude. Left with her elder brother, Charles Louis, under the guardianship of their grandmother, Juliana, at Heidelberg, these two children were the companions of her precipitate flight to the March of Brandenburgh; and during the perilous trials of Frederic and Elizabeth, remained under her protection. To this excellent Princess also they owed the rudiments of their education, which was strictly regulated by moral and religious principles. The infant Maurice was afterwards added to their domestic circle; but Charles Louis was soon removed to the College of Leyden; and the young Elizabeth, deprived of her only juvenile companion, had no resource but to engage with ardour in the same studies which were pursued by her brothers; with whom she regularly corresponded.

Insulated from her family, her childhood could scarcely be happy — it was at least without its accus-

tomed gaiety and exhilaration. The sublime piety of Juliana, and the exemplary goodness of her daughter Catherine, were calculated to awaken sentiments, and create habits and associations, more suitable to the faculties of maturity; and, as might be expected, these peculiarities of situation produced a premature developement of character in Elizabeth, who, with the aptitudes of her brother, Henry Frederic, combining the reflective powers and deep sensibility of Juliana, already found in her studies, not merely an exercise of talent, but a relief from her sadness.* On the establishment of Baron D'Hona in Holland, she was removed to the Hague, where, for the first time within her remembrance, she took her place beneath the paternal roof. Fortunately, the education of her sister Louisa had in many respects corresponded with her own; the charge of her infancy having been given to a lady, named Ketler, who, in like manner, had superintended the childhood of their father, Frederic; and who, after having instilled into their minds strict Protestant principles, was almost equally zealous to inspire respect for the Palatine house, its ancestral honour, hereditary dignities, and imprescriptible privileges. If the childhood of Elizabeth was joyless, her youth was not more happy. To the untimely end of her brother, Henry Frederic, succeeded the death of Gustavus. The loss of her lamented father, the reverse of her mother's hopes, and an almost interminable series of calamities, conspired to augment Elizabeth's habitual seriousness. Added to those af-

* See Ludwig.

flictions, which she shared in common with her family, she had her own particular grief, arising from the apprehension that she was excluded from her mother's affections. By degrees, however, this coldness, whether real or imaginary, vanished, and the young princess wrote to her brother, Charles Louis, that she was now treated by the queen with no less tenderness than her other children. The conduct of the young Elizabeth during the matrimonial treaty with Ladislaus, and the firmness with which she resisted every overture that implied a compromise of her religious principles, had completely won her mother's esteem; nor does she appear to have objected to her daughter's subsequent declaration, that she devoted herself to the single state. In reality, a distant resource was presented to her in the abbey of Hervorden, or Herford, of which her kinswoman, Louisa, sister of the Duke de Deuxponts, was the reigning abbess; after whose demise, it was reasonable to suppose, that her charge might devolve on another member of the Palatine family. With this plausible excuse, the princess announced a resolution from which she never departed, and in which she was afterwards imitated by that prodigy of talent and diligence, Anna Maria Schurman, who vied with the Carmelites in austerity and devotion. From the visionary enthusiasm imbibed by Schurman the princess was happily preserved, if not by the solidity of her judgment, by the habits of her rank, and the solicitudes in which she unavoidably participated with her family. Nor was it a trivial advantage for a mind active as hers, that a new pursuit was opportunely offered to its attention; this was the Cartesian system of metaphysics,

or philosophy, in which her correspondent, the accomplished Baron D'Hona was already an adept, and at whose persuasion the princess, with even more than wonted ardour, plunged into the same science, and soon renounced for it all other studies. For whatever mortifications she experienced, she professed to derive consolation from the belief, that the Supreme Good was alone seated in the mind of man, and that its attainment depended on the energy of the human will, and the earnest and consequently successful control of human passions. No doctrine could be more congenial to the piety and self-denial of Juliana, or the generous, the dignified spirit of Elizabeth.

But, whatever satisfaction the princess had received from the writings of Descartes, she tasted far more delight in his society and friendship. And, to the honour of his sincerity, he scrupled not to impugn her opinions, whenever they appeared to him to be erroneous. He was the first to rebuke her zeal against Catholicism, when it rendered her uncharitable to her brother Edward; nor did he scruple to recall her energy, when she deliberated at the Hague, instead of quitting it, as she had previously resolved. In spite of philosophy, the affectionate temper of Elizabeth exposed her to the most painful impressions; but change of scene produced its accustomed effect; and in the Electoral Court at Berlin she once displayed her extraordinary talents in a disputation with the celebrated Thomas Knesbesch, which excited wonder and applause. After this temporary exhilaration, she continued to suffer from a melancholy, by which her health became seriously impaired. Faithful to his pupil, Des-

cartes now made a generous, though unsuccessful, effort to procure her a permanent asylum with Christina, Queen of Sweden, who, like Elizabeth, professed to be his disciple, and to whom, in the simplicity of his heart, he had boasted of the Princess Palatine's attainments; at the same time he prevailed on the latter to address a letter to the queen, not doubting that the correspondence of two such cultivated females must lay the foundation of a mutual friendship. But the philosopher little understood the character of Christina, who, with an arrogance unworthy the daughter of the great Gustavus, allowed Elizabeth's letter to remain unanswered, — a trait of despotism or insensibility which convinced him how greatly he had erred in his calculations. In his subsequent visit to Sweden he renewed not his mediation for Elizabeth, either because he found the queen incapable of appreciating her moral and intellectual excellence, or because the conclusion of the treaty of Westphalia allowed him to anticipate for his favourite pupil her restoration to the land of her fathers. "The "smallest part of the Palatinate," said he, "is better "than the whole empire of the Tartars. After two or "three years of peace, it will afford as fair a resi- "dence as any part of the globe. For my part, who "have no local attachments, I should not scruple even "abandoning France for that country; but, in truth, "there is not a corner of this earth to which I would "not gladly emigrate, for the privilege of being useful "to your highness." The untimely end of Descartes, which prevented his offering this proof of friendship, spared Elizabeth the mortification she must otherwise have experienced, in finding herself without a home

On the establishment of Charles Louis at Heidelberg, she became for a time his inmate; and after having rejoiced at his marriage with her friend Charlotte of Hesse, unwillingly witnessed the insults offered to that injured woman.

The philosophy of Elizabeth never degenerated into insensibility. Incapable of temporizing in such a cause, she avowed her abhorrence of the Elector's conduct, aided Charlotte to make her escape from Heidelberg, and quickly followed to her brother's court at Cassel, where she continued to reside, almost without the hope of ever emerging from a state of dependence. In this unenviable situation she appears to have been cheerful, if not happy: time and experience had insensibly effected more than the philosophy of Descartes; and in contemplating the various evils of human existence, she learned to endure without murmurs her own personal share of suffering and privation. The following letter, addressed to Rupert, is marked by a frank cordiality peculiar to Elizabeth's character, and shews in what manner their brother, the Elector Palatine, conducted himself with his family:—

"*Berlin*, (*misdated* 1665, *probably* 1652.)

"DEAR BROTHER,

"If you knew how much joy your letters afford me, "I am sure you would have the goodnature to let me "receive them oftener than I do. Your last makes "no mention of the copy of my aunt Catherine's will, "which I sent you. There is a ring for you; let me "know how you'd have me dispose of it. I will send "you the best she left. The Elector of Brandenburg

" hath put all into my hands; but Timon * is so vexed
" at the 6000 dollars he is to pay me out of a clear
" debt, that he will not send me my annuity, and hath
" commanded Gules de Vic not to pay the pension
" which my aunt had in Poland; but our Elector † will
" force him to it. I believe he would willingly force
" me to put my pretensions into the Elector of Mentz's
" hands, as his wife is like to do; and then he may
" have just reason to complain. I shall not do it, un-
" til I see that all is lost; but I will have my share. I
" am now very rich in pretensions, for my aunt has
" 90,000 dollars due for thirty years' exile, in which
" she received not a penny out of her country. I shall
" engage the King (of Poland), if I can, to write for
" me to the Emperor. I would willingly let fall half
" the sum to get the rest, and still more to know you
" are still prosperous, both in this and all other under-
" takings. Everybody here wonders that so many
" ships stay before Havens, and that some of them do
" not rather go into the Indies; but everybody under-
" stands his own business. I go to attend mine at
" Cassel, and leave this place within a fortnight, where
" the elector obliges me more than I can express. I
" hope you will find some occasions to thank him for
" it. So farewell, dear brother. I am more than all
" the world besides, yours." ‡

After the expulsion of Elizabeth, Sophia, the flower

* Elector Palatine, so named by his sister for his misanthropic sentiments.

† This was the eldest son of George William, married to a daughter of Henry Frederic, Prince of Orange.

‡ Bromley's Royal Letters. This letter was evidently written before Rupert had renounced the pursuits of a nautical adventurer.

of the Palatine family, then in the bloom of youth, assumed her place in the castle of Heidelberg; and confessedly possessed " the attractions of beauty and ta-" lent, an elegant form, an understanding richly culti-" vated, learning embellished with eloquence, and wit " polished by the Graces." The charms of this princess extorted homage from the most fastidious critics in Europe *, and it is therefore less surprising that they should have captivated the youthful king of the Romans, the eldest son of Ferdinand the Third; whose brother Leopold afterwards succeeded him in the imperial throne. Tradition relates, that this prince, the grandson of her father's inveterate foe, offered his hand to Sophia, and that but for his untimely end she would have been elevated to the highest dignity in Europe. The ambitious character of Sophia, unmingled with enthusiasm or romantic sentiment, allows us not to suppose that she would have imitated the conduct of her sister with Ladislaus; and even by her mother she might perhaps have been pardoned for listening to the amiable Ferdinand. The death of her lover produced, however, no deep impression on her versatile mind. Without studying Descartes, she was an excellent practical philosopher, and, as was remarked by her brother, the Elector Palatine, preserved unalterably the gaiety of her spirits, or at least the sprightliness of her deportment. Sensible that by marriage alone she could escape from dependence, she surrendered

* See Chevreau. J'ose dire que la France ny a point de plus bel esprit que Madame la Duchesse d'Hanover d'aujourd'hui, ni de personne plus solidemente savante que Madame Elizabeth de Boheme sa sœur.

to Charles Louis the disposal of her person, and acceded to a match proposed with Prince Adolphus of Sweden. By some accident this union was impeded, and finally, in 1658, Sophia gave her hand to Ernest Augustus, the young Bishop of Osnaburgh, descended from a junior branch of the House of Brunswick *, and at the period of his marriage, not even presumptive heir to the States of Hanover. Fortunately for this prince, his elder brother, George William, the Duke of Luneburg †, who resided at Zell, had espoused with the

* See Evelyn's Letters, vol. 2.

† It was to this Prince, George William, that Ulric, the elder brother of Christian, Bishop of Halberstadt, surrendered his states, after the unfortunate battle of Lutter, upon which the Mercure François remarks, "The misfortunes of states or royal personages "seldom come singly. Within a month after the decease of Duke "Christian of Brunswick, died his mother, the sister of the King "of Denmark, who lost also the battle of Lutter, and was in con- "sequence driven back to Denmark, whilst Duke Ulric, in despair, "ceded his estates to the Duke George William of Luneburg, and "retired to Zell. Such is the ruin brought on the House of Bruns- "wick, the first of Lower Saxony, by the obstinate attachment of "Duke Christian to the cause of the Elector Palatine."

It is worthy of remark, that the princes of Brunswick, in the 17th century, adhered to the usages of elder times; and exemplified the unity, concord, and good faith, which, in the earliest stages of their history, prevailed in the Palatine family. It was the principle both of the elder and younger branches of this house, to co-operate with cordiality in the great object of supporting their common interests. The Dukes of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle and Brunswick Luneburg had sprung from the same stock. Henry, the father of the heroic Christian, had, by his first wife, his successor, Ulric; by his second wife, Dorothea, sister to Christian, King of Denmark, he had five sons, of whom the first, Henry Julius,

left hand a gentlewoman, whose children, though considered as legitimate, were incapable of succeeding to his estates. More fortunately still, the second son, Duke John Frederick, who espoused Sophia's niece, the daughter of Prince Edward and Anne Gonzague, died without heirs; an event certainly not included as a probable contingency at the epoch of Sophia's marriage with Ernest Augustus, who, though permitted to assume the management of the whole duchy, possessed in his own right but a small territory, inferior in extent and value to many estates in Germany, or even in France, belonging to private nobles.

After her marriage, Sophia spent several years in a manner little congenial to her taste; and her letters, though sprightly, are tinged with discontent. She

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died in childhood; the second, Christian, who was bishop of Halberstadt, received his education in the College of Helmstadt, to which he presented a volume of anatomical drawings, elucidating his favourite studies; the third was Rudolph, educated in the College of Tubing; the fourth was Charles, who, like his brother Christian, fell the victim of a malignant fever. In the year 1627, Duke Ulric finding himself the sole survivor of this family, ceded his rights to George, Duke of Lunenburg, in order to avert the imperial ban, and the extinction of its dignity, from the House of Brunswick. This prince left four sons, namely, Christian Louis, George William, John Frederic, and Ernest Augustus. Christian Louis married to a princess of Holstein, died in 1665, without issue. George William, as above related, contracted a left-handed marriage; John Frederic espoused the Palatine Princess, Benedicta, daughter of Prince Edward, who, but for her religion, must have superseded the pretensions of Sophia to the British throne. — See Tracts by Leibnitz.

complains with reason of the dulness of her rustic court, of which hunting formed the only pursuit*; and betrays ambitious regret in being excluded from more brilliant circles. At this period she resided chiefly at Hanover, in the domains of Ernest Adolphus, her husband's third brother, by whom they were indolently submitted to his management.†

The year of Sophia's marriage was rendered memorable, by her sister Louisa's abjuration of heresy, and admission to the Catholic church. The clandestine manner of her retreat from the Hague has been already mentioned. The motives for this change were, by Catholic priests, ascribed to sudden and irresistible illumination; and a pompous account is given of the address‡ with which the princess eluded the vigilance

* Bromley's Royal Letters.

† See Sydney Papers, 2d volume.

‡ *Extracted from the Oraison Funèbre.*

Voilà, Messieurs, les titres de sa gloire, et le sujet de l'éloge que je consacre à la mémoire éternellement recommandable de Tres-Háute, Tres Excellente et Tres Religieuse Princesse Louise Hollandine, Palatine de Baviere, Princesse Electorale, Abbesse de Maubuisson.

La Princesse Louise, issuë de ces Héros, recut d'eux, avec les plus heureuses inclinations l'attachement à l'hérésie. Seconde fille de Frederic Roi de Bohême, et d'Elizabeth d'Angleterre, elle naquit á la Haye dans le sein même de l'erreur. Le Duc de Brunswick à la République d'Hollande la présentèrent au baptême, et ces Princes, qui, suivant la sage institution de cette cérémonie, auroient dû répondre à l'eglise de l'integrité de sa foi, servirent de caution, et d'interprêtes de son devouement au Calvinisme.

A ces premiers engagemens succedent les leçons d'une vertueuse,

of guards and domestics at the Bohemian court; of the consternation created by her flight, and the distraction it caused in the queen and her attendants. It is well known that no guards were planted near this royal residence; that the house which her mother occupied

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dame *, qui applaudie des soins qu'elle avoit pris de l'enfance du Pere, ne promettoit pas de moindre succès dans l'education de la fille.

Aidée dans cette situation des conseils d'une illustre amie †, que son merite plus que sa naissance lui avoit justement acquise; éclairée de lumières de ministres ‡ fideles; enfin pleinement convaincuë par la lecture d'un livre de l'Hérésie §, forcée jusque dans ses derniers retranchemens, se trouve accablée sous le poid immense de l'éternelle vérité; et Catholique dans le cœur, il ne manque à sa parfaite conversion, que d'en faire profession publique.

Trompant, sous une figure empruntée la vigilance des gardes, passant seule et à pied toutes les rues de la Haye, elle se rend au lieu concerté et de là sans équipage et sans suite, sans argent, sans pierreries, sous la seule guide des anges fidelles, elle arrive à Anvers, où reçue dans le monastere de Carmelites Angloises, elle emprunte de ces saintes victimes de la foi de nouvelles forces pour soutenir la sienne, et consommer enfin l'ouvrage si desiré de sa parfaite conversion.

Je ne vous représente point les agitations et les troubles de la *cour de Bohême*, les larmes et les gémissemens des officiers de la princesse, l'affliction et la colère de la reine, lorsque, à l'inquiétude que donne son absence succede la douleur d'en apprendre la cause par ces mots écrits de sa main que l'on trouve sur sa toilette.

Je passe en France pour me faire catholique, et me rendre religieuse.

* Sybille de Ketlet, de la Maison des Ducs de Curlande.
† La Princesse d'Oxoldre.
‡ Prêtres Ecossois.
§ Traité en Flamand contre les Ministres de Bolduc.

was divested of royal state, and that its pretended court consisted but of two or three ladies and a few domestics. Equally erroneous is the statement, that her flight was concerted by her brother Edward, that prince having received such unfavourable impressions of her previous conduct, that he refused to hold with her any communication, until she should be cleared from the imputed disgrace. The precise nature of this charge is not explained; but it was obviously one by which her reputation was attainted. Having reached Antwerp, Louisa instantly challenged the protection of its bishop, to whom she made a formal abjuration of her heretical errors, and by whose mediation she was lodged in a magnificent convent, where, having vindicated her character from the calumnious misrepresentations of a certain prioress of Quedlinburgh, she proceeded to Rouen, where she was met by Prince Edward, to whom she was now reconciled, and by him conducted to the convent of Chaillot. In this retreat she was visited by the first personages in France, caressed by Henrietta Maria, who gloried in her conversion, and cherished by Anne Gonzague, the Princess Palatine, one of the female politicians* with whom France abounded, but who suspended all her busy plans to rejoice over a reclaimed Calvinist.

From this period the destiny of Louisa was completely changed; and, in professing poverty and mortification, she arrived at honour and pre-eminence. The king and court showered on her distinguished favours; and she was finally created Abbess of Maubuisson, almost

* See Anquetil, Intrigues du Cabinet.

at the same time that her sister Elizabeth obtained the quiet, unostentatious independence, to which she had so long aspired, in the Lutheran abbey of Hervorden. In filling this charge, Elizabeth acquired a certain political dignity, and became, nominally, a member of the German empire: she was authorized to send a deputy to the diet, and required to furnish one horseman and six foot soldiers to the imperial forces. She presided in a court of justice, and exercised her mild and salutary authority over some seven thousand persons, including the imperial town of Hervorden, and the villages adjacent. Of so small a territory, the revenue was necessarily limited; but, by the wise economy of Elizabeth, it was rendered adequate to the exercise of humanity and even beneficence. From the castle in which she resided, luxury was banished; but it was the asylum of the poor, a refuge for the unfortunate. According to Penn, who had often been admitted within its walls, it was the abode of peace, and concord, and charity. "The chief diversion of the princess, next the air, "was knitting. She had a small territory which she "governed; on every last day of the week she sat in "judgment, to hear and determine causes. Her pa- "tience, justice, and mercy were admirable, frequently "remitting forfeitures where the party was poor or me- "ritorious: she tempered her discourses with religion, "and strangely drew the contending parties to submis- "sion or concord by her power of persuasion. She "never considered the rank, but the quality of the "persons she approached. Did she hear of a retired "man, hid from the world, seeking the knowledge of "a better, she sought him out, and set him down in

" her catalogue of charity. I have casually seen fifty " letters, sealed and superscribed to the objects of her " bounty, whose distances would not allow them to " know one another, though they knew her, whom yet " some of them had never seen. Thus, though she " kept no sumptuous table in her own court, she spread " the tables of the poor in their solitary cells, breaking " bread to virtuous pilgrims; abstemious herself, and " in apparel void of all vain ornaments. Being once " at Hamburgh, a religious person whom she went to " visit, expressing her sense of the honour, from her " who was allied to such great kings and princes, she " replied, 'If they were godly as well as great, the " 'honour were great; but if you knew as well as I " 'what that greatness was, you would value less the " 'honour.'"

It is easy to discover, in this sketch, a slight resemblance to the character of the Electress Juliana, who, in like manner, was accustomed to preside in the castle of Kaiser's Lautern. In a remote corner of Westphalia, surrounded by rude, ignorant boors, and their simple, unpolished wives, was the refined, the highly-cultivated Elizabeth destined to close her existence. There can be no stronger proof of the long series of unhappiness she had previously experienced, than that she should have considered this dreary situation as an acceptable, and even desirable, asylum. It was here that, for the first time in her life, she possessed a home, and gratefully exercised the privilege so long coveted — to relieve distress. A few conversible beings were collected beneath her roof, and a colony of unfortunate

persons were soon attracted to Westphalia, by the fame of her beneficence. Among these were several of the primitive Friends, or Quietists, with their master, Labbadie, whose gentle sect, nearly coeval with that of Fox and Penn, had arisen in Holland, on the subsiding of the Arminian controversy; and, to minds of a contemplative or poetical cast, certainly presented powerful attractions. One of his most distinguished disciples was the highly gifted Anna Schurman, who, disgusted with the heartless asperity of polemical disquisition, eagerly took shelter in the refreshing doctrines of universal love and peace, and internal communication with the Deity. Involved in the odium incurred by her preceptor, she gladly accepted an invitation from Elizabeth, and was thus, for the first time, familiarly associated with a woman, in whose pursuits and opinions she had sympathized in early youth, and in whose sentiments for Descartes she once cordially participated. Even now, a striking correspondence of feeling might still be detected between these two extraordinary women, but with this difference, that Elizabeth yielded to circumstances, and Schurman surrendered herself to impressions; that the former was visionary and abstracted, the latter enthusiastic and susceptible. Bewildered with the subtilties of theology, the restless spirit of Schurman could be appeased only by the sacrifice of letters and philosophy, as worldly and unprofitable vanities; whilst Elizabeth, subdued, rather than disgusted, by repeated trials of adversity, submitted to resign them. In fine, the attention of the one was concentrated on her own immortal

destiny; the other lived but to lessen the evils, or extend the pleasures, of all within her sphere of action. The character of each was modified by individual situation. Elizabeth could as little narrow herself to the sectary, as Schurman expand to the philosopher, even although she had once been the disciple of Descartes.

The protection which Elizabeth afforded to the Quietists, gave offence to the Emperor Leopold, who, in the spirit of his fathers, decreed their expulsion from Hervorden; yet this princess scrupled not to receive, with the most frank cordiality, William Penn and his travelling companions, who, during a religious progress through Germany, visited her castle, and were delighted with their reception. Touched with the amiable zeal which had prompted this benevolent being to quit his native country, Elizabeth appears to have conceived for Penn a sincere regard, and to have admitted him to a privileged and intimate friendship. Several of her female companions were equally impressed by his conversation. They had many private conferences; and Elizabeth, who still retained the polished manners of her mother's court, once said to him, "I read in my library, that the Gospel was first "brought out of England into Germany by the Eng-"lish; now it is come again." At parting, she said, "Let me desire you to remember me, though I live "at this distance, and you should never see me more. "I thank you for this time; and be assured, though "my situation subjects me to divers temptations, yet "my soul hath strong desires after the best things." At this moment she became visibly agitated; and,

laying her hand on her breast, exclaimed, "I cannot "say what I would! I feel far more than I can ex- "press!"

From this period, Elizabeth continued to correspond with Penn*, and always in the same tone of confiding friendship. She survived his visit but three years; and the Latin epitaph, which still remains in the church of Herverden, is almost the only historical record of the intollectual, the virtuous, the noble-minded Elizabeth.

* The following letter is extracted from Penn's works:—

"HERFORD, *May* 2, 1677.

"This, friend, will tell you that both your letters were very ac- "ceptable, together with your wishes for my obtaining those vir- "tues, which may make me a worthy follower of our great King "and Saviour Jesus Christ. What I have done for his true dis- "ciples, is not so much as a cup of cold water, since it affords them "no refreshment. Neither did I expect any fruit of my letter to the "Duchess of L——, as I have expressed, at the same time, unto "B. T.; but since R. B. desired I should write it, I could not "refuse him, nor omit to do any thing that was judged conducing "to his liberty, though it should expose me to the derision of the "world. But this a mere moral man can reach at; the true in- "ward graces are yet wanting in

"Your affectionate friend,

"ELIZABETH."

Translation of the Epitaph on Elizabeth.*

D. O. M. S.

H. S. E.

Her Serene Highness and Abbess of Hervord,
ELIZABETH.
Sprung from the race of the Electors Palatine,
And the Royal Family of England.
She bore a mind so truly royal,
That amidst all the reverses of Fortune
It remained unconquered.
By her constancy and greatness of soul,
By her singular prudence in the conduct of life,
By her uncommon attainments in knowledge,
By learning far above her sex,
By the respect of Kings, and the friendship of the Illustrious,
By the correspondence and the admiring tributes
Of the Learned,
By the united regard and applause
Of the whole Christian world,
But chiefly by her own admirable virtue,
She attached undying honour to her name.

She was born in the year 1618, on the 26th day of December;
She died on the 11th February, in the year 1680;
She lived 61 years, one month, and sixteen days,
And reigned twelve years, ten months, and two days.

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* For this spirited translation the author has to acknowledge her obligations to a young lady, who has unconsciously traced an outline of her own character in the eulogy on Elizabeth.

The Abbess of Maubuisson survived her sister Elizabeth nearly thirty years. As she advanced in life she exhibited more unction for the Catholic faith, and laboured to reclaim her sister Sophia to the ancient church. This effort served only to produce many admirable letters on both sides, and a masterly essay from the pen of Leibnitz. It is worthy of remark, that Louisa not only attached herself to the interests of the elder Stuarts, but that to Sophia herself she avowed the interest she took in the success of the Pretender, even after the Act of Settlement, which had declared that princess the next in succession to the British throne. If the sincerity of the abbess is respectable, the candour of Sophia, in whom it occasioned no diminution of affection to her sister, is equally striking. In 1709, Louisa breathed her last, and received an appropriate tribute from the pen of Bossuet.

Sophia still survived, and still expected to wield the sceptre of Britain. From childhood aspiring, her ambition was not to be extinguished by time; and the passion which had inspirited her youth, and vivified the dull thirty years of her married life, continued to animate the last period of her existence. During that interval she had experienced all the petty cares incident to petty courts, had endured with complacency her husband's infidelities, and learnt to suppress whatever sentiment was inimical to the extension of her own personal influence. Respected by her sons; by her daughter, to whose education she had devoted herself, she was tenderly cherished. This princess, afterwards married to the King of Prussia, was snatched from her by death, leaving no surviving object to fill the void

in her mother's heart. It is not, therefore, surprising that as Sophia advanced in life her affections reverted, with augmented force, to that last surviving sister, the friend of her early youth, from whom she had been separated during three-fourths of her existence. It appears doubtful whether this sentiment should be ascribed to the indifference manifested by her sons, to the turmoils of her court, or to the inappeasable desire of uniting with some being, in whom she might repose with unbounded confidence. To visit England, to shine in her mother's country, was the last wish this princess formed, and she owed to it the last disappointment she ever experienced. To the honour of Sophia's good sense, although she did not sympathize in the Abbess Louisa's extravagant devotion to her cousins, the Stuarts, she rejected with disdain the paltry attempts to stigmatize as spurious the birth of the Pretender.* With less sensibility than her sister Elizabeth, Sophia appears to have filled without reproach the various relations of domestic life. A tender mother, an affectionate friend, the patroness of Leibnitz endeavoured to inspire good taste in her court, and to induce good habits in the people. Born to captivate by her wit and amenity even those whom she was formed to command by reason and judgment, she possessed

* "Je trouve les harangues trop fortes: elles ne sont bonnes "que pour amuser le petit peuple, car la comparaison du Prince "de Galles à Perguin est trop forte: ce n'est pas lui qui de droit "pourroit m'oter la couronne. *Si on ne peut point de Roi Catholique* "elle m'apartient de droit. Sans cela, il y en a plusieurs plus "proches de la succession que moi. Ainsi je n'aime point qu'on "appelle le Prince de Galles, Batard, car j'aime la vérité."

every talent, every aptitude, calculated to render a sovereign popular, or to disseminate blessings among a people. Sophia died in 1714, having lived eighty-four years.

The Earl of Craven survived the Queen of Bohemia thirty-five years. During that long interval, he witnessed the extinction of the male heirs of Frederic the Fifth, and followed to the grave his lamented friend Prince Rupert, whose daughter, Ruperta, was left to his guardianship. Although handsome and accomplished, this nobleman was never married; nor, with the exception of the Queen of Bohemia, ever suspected of having formed an attachment more tender than friendship. With regard to that princess, it should be remarked, that if her union with Lord Craven ever took place, it is not mentioned by contemporary writers, although such unequal alliances were in that age not unfrequent. Bassompierre had espoused a princess of Lorrain; Henrietta Maria was united to Lord Jermyn. The Queen of Bohemia was twelve years older than Lord Craven; and it is worthy of remark, that she prevailed on this gallant nobleman *, contrary to his interests, to accompany her two sons in the unfortunate expedition to Westphalia, obviously that they might have the benefit of his advice and experience; whence it may be inferred, that maternal affection was her ruling principle; a presumption that militates strongly against the idea of her having cherished for Lord Craven any sentiments akin to love.

Waiving this question, it suffices to remark, that this

* See Bromley's Royal Letters. Harte's Gustavus Adolphus.

nobleman's character impressed with respect even the venal profligates of King Charles's court, and that he retained to the last his habits of activity, simplicity, and benevolence. To hear of distress, and to relieve it, was with him the impulse of the same moment.

Lord Craven belonged to the Royal Society, and took a lively interest in its researches. He lived in familiar intimacy with Evelyn, Ray, and other naturalists; delighted in gardening, and was unremitting in his endeavours to improve the condition of his tenantry. Although he possessed many seats, he shewed great partiality to Combe Abbey, the residence of Elizabeth's youth. To judge by the numerous dedications to which his name is prefixed, he was a munificent patron of letters. Here, also, the favourites of Elizabeth appear to have obtained the first place. The following additional anecdotes, extracted from Sir Egerton Brydges, Pennant, and Whitaker, are submitted to the reader, with a caution to distinguish between *facts* and *traditions*.

"Sir William Craven, Knight, Sheriff of London 1601, Lord Mayor 1611; died July 18. 1618, and was buried on the 11th of August in St. Andrews Undershaft, London. He left issue three sons and two daughters. 1. William his son and heir; 2. John, created Lord Craven of Ryton, in the county of Salop, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Spencer, and died without issue; 3. Thomas, the younger brother, died unmarried.

"The daughters were Mary, married to Thomas Lord Coventry; Elizabeth, to Percy Herbert Lord Powis.

" William signalized himself in Germany, and in the Netherlands, under Henry Prince of Orange. On his return, he was knighted at Newmarket, March 4. 1626, and raised to the dignity of a baron, by the title of Lord Craven, of Hampstead Marshall, by letters-patent, dated March 12. following; with remainder for want of issue male of his own body, to John and Thomas Craven, his brothers, and the heirs-male of their bodies.

" On the restoration of King Charles the Second, both his brothers being dead without issue, the title of Lord Craven of Hampstead Marshall was then limited, for want of issue male of his own body, to Sir William Craven of Lenchwike, in the county of Worcester, knight, and to the heirs-male of his body; and for default of such issue, to Sir Anthony Craven, knight, brother to the same Sir William, and to the issue male of his body.

" That his Lordship was a great sufferer for his adherence to Charles the Second, is evident from a printed case in these times, setting forth the great injustice done him by the parliament of England, in confiscating his estate, as appears by the positions taken in 1650; and from which considerable extracts may be seen in Brydges' Peerage, vol. v. p. 449.

" In 1670, on the death of George, Duke of Albemarle, the King constituted him colonel of the regiment of Foot Guards, called the Coldstream regiment.

" Sir William Craven of Lenchwike dying, leaving only a daughter, he obtained a farther grant by other letters-patent, bearing date December 11. 17 Chas. II.,

that the said title of Lord Craven, of Hampstead Marshall, should remain with Sir William Craven, knight, (son of Sir Thomas Craven, brother to Sir Anthony, before-mentioned), to the heirs-male of his body for ever.

" Earl Craven continued in the esteem of Charles the Second to the time of his death; and Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, the King's aunt, committed all her affairs to his Lordship. On the death of Charles he attended the coronation of James the Second, and for some time was in his favour, and was sworn of the privy council; but at length having intimation, that the King would be pleased with the resignation of his commission, he said, ' If they took away his regiment ' they had as good take away his life, since he had no- ' thing else to divert himself with.' Upon which he was allowed to keep it.

" On King William's accession, the Earl's said regiment was bestowed on General Talmash. However, his Lordship to the time of his death, though divested of every office dependent on the crown, was ever ready to serve the public, particularly for extinguishing fires in the city of London and suburbs, of which he had so early intelligence; and was ready to mount on horseback to assist with his presence, that it became a common saying, ' his horse smelt fire as soon as it happened.'

" His Lordship in his younger days was one of the most accomplished gentlemen in Europe; an useful subject, charitable, abstemious, as to himself, generous to others, familiar in his conversation, and universally beloved. He died unmarried, on April 9th, 1697,

aged 88 years and 10 months, and was buried at Binley, near Coventry, April 20th following."

In the History and Antiquities of the Deanry of Craven, in the county of York, by Thomas Durham Whitaker, is the following passage:—"Sir William Craven, Knight and Alderman, and Lord Mayor of London, repaired the church 1612. He was born at Appletrewick, in this parish, of poor parents, who are said to have sent him up by a common carrier to London, where he entered into the service of a mercer or draper." In this situation nothing more is known of his history, till, by diligence and frugality, (the old virtues of a citizen), he had raised himself to wealth and honour, in 1607. He is described by Cambden, as "equestri dignitate et senator Londinensis." In 1611 he was chosen Lord Mayor: of the time of his death I am not informed; in him the commercial spirit of the family ended, as it had begun. William Craven, his eldest son, having been trained in the armies of Gustavus Adolphus, and William Prince of Orange, became one of the most distinguished soldiers of his time. He was in the number of those gallant Englishmen who served the unfortunate King of Bohemia, from a spirit of romantic attachment to his beautiful consort; and his services are generally supposed to have been privately rewarded with the hand of that princess, after her return in widowhood, to her native country. Thus the son of a Wharfdale peasant matched with the sister of Charles the First: a remarkable instance of that Providence which "raiseth the poor out

of the dust, and setteth him among princes, even the princes of his people."

The following letter, addressed by Elizabeth to her son, the Elector Palatine, respecting her jointure, was omitted at the right place; it is without a date, but appears to have been written early in the year 1661, at the period of the restoration of Charles the Second.

"I am glad I was deceived, and that you intend shortly to send me to the King, and that he will pass by this way. I assure you, I neither am nor ever was unreasonable; so, as reason will satisfy me, I desire not to ruin you, nor to make you live under what you do. In my letter I told you why I did not send any to be informed of your revenue, for either they were such as durst not offend you, or such as might easily be deceived, being strangers; and, besides, in the condition that my family was then in, I easily imagined that they would not be much regarded. What I have received from you since your restitution was not so much. Till Frankenthal was restored, you gave me 2000 rix-dollars per month, but since that you gave me but half, and I was near six months from receiving any thing, to rebate the 5000 the Emperor gave me. You sent me once 7000 guilders, and never since any more, besides the 15,000 guilders, only 2000 guilders for living. I do not mention the mourning, for that is a thing of course. I had not tasted fine bread and white caudles if you had helped me as you promised; but

15,000 guilders could not do it, living as I do, much less as I should, which makes me, in a manner, beg the States' assistance; and, as it is, I cannot give my servants their wages. If remembering you to have more would have done it, you should not have lacked; but when I wrote, I never received answer, which has hindered me to write concerning my niece's mourning. I can assure you, there is nothing I more desire than to have an end of this business, which shall be as much for your honour as for my good and contentment."*

The foregoing is the last of a series of letters addressed to the Elector, and which breathe the same humiliating complaints. But the evil of poverty had long been familiar to Elizabeth. In the Paper Office is preserved a voluminous collection of her letters, written between the years 1632 and 1647, almost exclusively addressed to Charles the First, of whose unbrotherly coldness and unfeeling neglect they convey decisive evidence. One of these epistolary petitions contains a minute detail of the hardships and privations suffered by the Palatine family, from which they should seem, notwithstanding the allowance made by the States of Holland, to have been without the comforts or even the necessaries of life; and what renders this document curious, it is regularly subscribed and attested by each prince and princess then residing beneath the maternal roof.

From childhood Elizabeth appears to have been an indefatigable letter-writer, and not unpractised in li-

* Bromley's Royal Letters.

terary composition. There exists in the library at Heidelberg a MS. translation or version of the Psalms, and several devotional hymns, of which she was the undoubted writer. In her epistolary compositions there is no ambitious display of talent. She commonly wrote in haste, and the variations in the character often bespeak the agitation of her mind. This remark applies particularly to a letter addressed to Sir Dudley Carleton in 1630, at the period of Frederic's last fatal visit to Germany, in which she requests him to transmit to her any well written romances, that might be published in Paris. At this crisis of her fate, she was glad to obtain any auxiliaries to beguile her cares. In adverting to the hidden treasures of the Paper Office, it is impossible not to regret that those epistolary records, which are so well calculated to throw light on historical personages, are lost to the public. A judicious selection of letters referring to interesting personages, with whose names we have long been familiar, is a desideratum in national literature, to the merits of which none who have read Pepys or appreciated Evelyn can be insensible.

Gallia Christiana, &c. in fol. Parisiis, 1744. *t.* 7. *fol.* 938. *Series Abbatissarum, vulgo Maubuisson.*

25. Ludovica Maria Hollandina, Princeps Palatina de Baviere, filia Frederici IV. Regis Bohemiæ, Comitis Palatini Rheni, principis et electoris sacri imperii ex Elisabetha Stuard, filia Jacobi I., Angliæ Regis, et-

Annæ a Dania, nata 1622, Hagæ comitis in Hollandia, quam cum nutricis lacte suxerat heresiam ejuravit Antwerpiæ, 25 Januarii 1658, tum venit in Franciam, habitumque religiones die 25 Martii suscepit in parthenone beatæ Mariæ Regalis, ibidem professa 1660, 19 Septembris. Deinde pro votis Catherinæ superioris et conventus, in ejus demortuæ locum successit, nominata a rege anno 1664, die 20 Augusti. Sancto Bernardo sacra, adütque posessionem 4 Novembris ejusdem anni, solemni benedictione donata a Claudio Vaussin Abbate Cistercii, præ humilitatè ab insignis dignitatis abstinuit, a cruce pectorali et stallo abbatiali, üsque imaginem beatæ Mariæ virginis reposuit. Pingerè gnara, gentilitia in altaris latere depicta insignia delevit, pluresque tabellas tam pro domo, quam pro vicinis parochiis ipsa depinxit. Denique obiit 11 Februarii 1709, ætatis anno 87, vitæ religiosæ 50, et regiminis 45. Die vero 22 Augusti in solemni exsequiarum ejus officio Jacobus Matoul designatus episcopus Electensis laudavit eam e suggestu, præsente Anna de Bourbon ipsius nepote.

In the Histoire de Bossuet, by the Cardinal de Bausset, is to be found a curious account of the manner in which Louisa, the Abbess of Maubuisson, became attached to the interests and opinions of the celebrated Madame de Brinon, the discarded favourite of Madame de Maintenon. After having stated that Louisa was, in 1665, advanced by Louis the Fourteenth to the dignity of Abbess of Maubuisson, the author states, that she found in that abbey Madame de Brinon,

formerly the confident of Madame de Maintenon, and the superintendent of St. Cyr, till, intoxicated with the favour she enjoyed, she ventured to uphold opinions contrary to those maintained by Madame de Maintenon, and consequently incurred that lady's displeasure; of which she became fully sensible when she found herself, by the mandate of Louis the Fourteenth, dismissed from St. Cyr, and compelled to retire with a pension of 4000 francs per annum. The talents of Madame de Brinon failed not to create favourable prepossessions in the Abbess Louisa, over whose mind she soon obtained an ascendant scarcely less absolute than she had once exercised over Madame de Maintenon. Animated by her eloquence, the Abbess entered into a controversial correspondence with her sister, the Duchess of Hanover, with the hope of effecting her conversion. By the agency of Madame de Brinon, an epistolary intercourse was established between Leibnitz and Blisson. The favourite idea of the re-union of the Lutheran and Romish churches, appears to have occupied the philosopher, and for a time to have engrossed the attention of the Duchess, the Abbess, and Bossuet. — *See Histoire de Bossuet*, tome 4. p. 157.

THE END.

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